

Panjshir Valley is a fertile strip covering an area of about 10 sq. km. located barely 100 mm north-east of Kabul. The Valley is surrounded by massive mountains which are criss-crossed with nullahs leading into side valleys and smaller valleys. The high mountains which flank the western side of Panjshir overlook the strategic Salang Tunnel through which the main road from Kabul runs northwards to the Soviet border.

Ahmed Shah Masood, the tribal Malik and leader of the Panjshir region has been waging effective guerrilla war against the Soviet Afghan Army for the past four years. The Soviets, to begin with, tried to eliminate him by force. Using over 5,000 troops supported by tanks and aircraft, they launched as many as five deliberate attacks on the area. Masood's 2,000 guerrillas armed with rifles were able to repel the attacks and hold out against heavy odds because of the terrain which forms a complex maze ideally suited to the Afghan's favourite form of guerrilla warfare.

When the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan there were widespread protests. But despite UN resolutions and spontaneous resistance of Afghans at the local level, military experts knew that it would be difficult to force a Soviet military withdrawal. Nevertheless, many Americans were reluctant to sit back and watch the USSR consolidate its gains in Afghanistan. Some hoped to encourage local resistance groups and "bleed the Russians white." But perceptive observers were aware of the differences between Vietnam and Afghanistan: few had any illusions about inflicting a military defeat on the Russians.

INSURGENCY

There were others who believed that mounting casualties of men and equipment would have a telling effect on the Soviets and would induce them to come to the negotiating table. There were two weaknesses in this strategy. Local resistance groups were too widespread and diverse to evolve a joint coordinated insurgency strategy. Even if the Soviets were forced to the table, the Afghan opposition had no credible unified political organisation to offer as an alternative to the Karmal regime.

The first year, 1980, saw many fierce but disorganised battles between isolated groups of insurgents and Soviet forces. It was only during late 1981 that the personality of Ahmed Shah Masood caught Western eyes. Here was an effective and attractive leader resisting the Russians within 100 km of Kabul, unlike his refugee compatriots who waged a war of words from the safety of Peshawar. Here was a man worthy of support.

The US began sending a slow trickle of funds to Masood through clandestine conduits established along the Afghan-Pakistan border. At the same time, the ex-king of Afghanistan who lived in exile in Rome was contacted. Zahir Shah still enjoys considerable prestige and he could become a focus for some of the Islamic and anti-Soviet emotions generated by the war. He was encouraged to announce that he would soon hold a Loi Jirga (tribal assembly) in Saudi Arabia. This was an attempt to unify the political

aspirations of the resistance, drawing on tribal personalities and leaders resident inside Afghanistan as well as those based in the refugee camps in Pakistan.

TRUCE

Meanwhile, because of their inability to overwhelm Masood's forces in repeated attacks through 1980-1983, the Soviets had blandly adopted a technique perfected by the British to control the unadministered territories on the Durand Line; they negotiated a truce with Masood and paid him 250,000 pound sterling to maintain the peace. Masood used the money to reequip and regroup his forces with US aid. In March 1984, when the time came to renew the truce, Masood raised his price and demanded that he would only talk to the Soviets and not to Karmal, "a nonentity who merely fronts for Soviet commissars."

In early April this year, a force of about 15,000 Afghans and 5,000 Russians supported by 400 tanks, armoured personnel carriers and aircraft, overran Panjshir Valley. The Afghan Government claimed the capture of key heights by helicopter troops and the devastation of insurgent strongholds by high altitude bombing with TU-16s and low level sorties by SU-26s firing rockets and anti-personnel bombs. Over 2,000 guerrillas had been routed. The insurgents claim that they have suffered no major losses as they had deliberately retreated into the surrounding hills from where they will continue the fight.

Having overrun the Valley, the bulk of the attacking forces have been withdrawn leaving about two brigades in the area, with a base in Panjshir Valley and several strong points on the surrounding heights. Masood has issued a confident statement that his men will render these government positions untenable. The coming months should see several small but vital battles along classical lines. The guerrillas will not attempt openly to attack a defended area. They will ambush patrols and convoys which carry supplies to these positions, hoping thereby to isolate the defences and inflict an unacceptable degree of attrition on the defenders.

Masood's tactics could succeed provided his forces, in their mountain hideouts, can be re-supplied with sophisticated hand-held anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles, and food. But the critical factor will now be food since the crops in the Valley can no longer be harvested even if the Soviets withdraw. Moreover, the Soviets will ensure that no grain trickles into the area from neighbouring villages. One hundred guerrillas need about three metric tonnes of food every month to survive. The re-supply of arms and food to about 2,000 insurgents widely spread all around the Panjshir complex is a formidable logistic problem. Eventually it will be food and not arms that will settle the fate of Masood.

TRANSACTIONS

Although small consignments of arms and other stores have been slipping across the Pakistani-Afghan border to Masood over the past four years, Pakistan has always been denying official involvement in such transactions; admittedly, the border is vast, undefined and

difficult to control. Now, after Panjshir and reliable reports of famine conditions prevailing elsewhere in the country, the requirements of food alone will be too much to enable clandestine moves across the borders, this will have to be flown in by helicopters at night from bases in Pakistan.

Sorties by skilled pilots could avoid pinpoint interception but such movement and the location of bases would be difficult to conceal. Under those circumstances, it would be prudent to anticipate swift aerial reactions against any bases if established in Pakistan. These must, therefore, be protected with sophisticated ground-to-air missiles and F-16 aircraft. General Zia wants US arms but is rightly hesitant to accept an open anti-Soviet commitment.

Pakistan has two other courses open to it. Firstly, it could sit on the fence, get maximum aid from the US, turn a blind eye to the continuation of a small trickle of arms across its borders, taking care to ensure that no charge can be levelled against the Government for providing military aid to the guerrillas. But this course will not solve Masood's food requirements. Moreover, it does not resolve Pakistan's refugee problem which is causing considerable disquiet in the country. The permanent presence of three million Afghans imposes a severe financial, ecological and social burden which could endanger Pakistan's internal stability. Many of these refugees are armed, committed to fundamentalism and are getting increasingly involved in Pakistan's internal politics without being called to order.

THREAT

It would also be myopic to ignore the fallout of the Afghan problem on Baluchi nationalism. There is a pro-Moscow group in Baluchistan which has reacted favourably to the Soviet action in Afghanistan. The danger of Pakistan being destabilised if it continues to refuse to deal with Babrak Karmal is very real, and is one of the considerations which prompts General Zia to press for a no-war pact with India.

Realising this threat, a growing body of Pakistani opinion has begun to see through the game of the super powers whose policy is to find a Third World regime, make it a friend, ignore its domestic character, turn it into a surrogate, vest it with the virtue of socialism (if a Soviet surrogate) or anti-communism (if American), and shut one's eyes to the lowering of human standards and obligations which is the price that the regime will have to pay to remain a surrogate.

Many influential Pakistanis are urging General Zia to refuse to link up the Afghan issue with the wider US-Soviet Cold War by adhering to non-alignment rather than making Pakistan a part of a strategic consensus directed against the Soviet Union. Because of the realities of military power, Pakistan may be reluctantly pressurised into opening bilateral negotiations with Babrak Karmal's regime. Much will depend on Masood's ability to survive the coming winter.

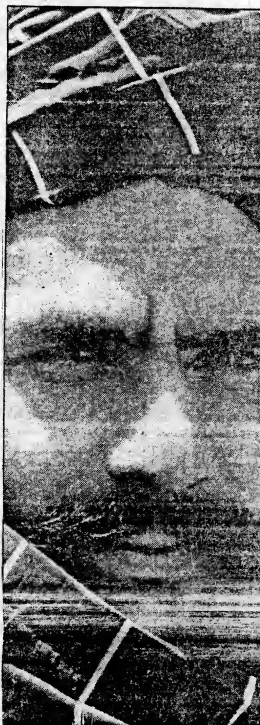


Photo by Val Mazzenga
Chicago Tribune 7/16

CONFERENCE

Priscilla Soucek & Eleanor Sims will co-chair a 1-day conference on art & patronage in the Timurid Near East at NYU in December. The conference is being under-written by the Kevoorkian Fund.

The Soviets Are Winning in Afghanistan

By Selig S. Harrison

IN THE PREVAILING Western image of the war in Afghanistan, Moscow is engaged in a hopeless effort to consolidate the Babrak Karmal regime. Karmal himself is a nonentity who merely fronts for Soviet commissars, and freedom fighters control most of the Afghan countryside. But after eight days in Kabul, tramping through the bazaars and talking with a variety of Afghans and others, including three hours with Karmal, I am convinced that this is wishful thinking.

Despite widespread popular distaste for the Soviet presence, Moscow appears to be slowly but steadily building a functioning Afghan military and administrative apparatus manned at critical points by highly-motivated Afghan communists loyal to Karmal.

Kabul is now a cohesive city-state run by a reasonably unified Afghan communist machine. Karmal, a forceful personality who holds this machine together, has become much more than a puppet. His regime does not control much of the Afghan countryside, but neither does the resistance.

The view from Kabul is one of an intensifying military and political struggle in which most villages are trapped between increasingly efficient Soviet-cum-Afghan forces and increasingly well-equipped resistance fighters. If a village helps one side in the fighting, the other punishes it, and the issue for most Afghans is how to survive.

I did not know quite what to expect when I stepped off the plane from Moscow. True, I had been to Afghanistan seven times before over 30 years, most recently in August 1978, shortly after the communist takeover. I had interviewed Pakistan-based resistance leaders frequently. But this was my first visit to Kabul since the Soviet occupation. Even though I had questioned some of the more hyped-up accounts coming out of Pakistan-based resistance groups, I expected to feel palpable tension and wondered whether the streets would be safe.

At first, I wore my Irish tweed hat to make sure I would not be mistaken for a Russian, but this soon began to seem superfluous as I discovered that I could walk freely in all parts of the city, now swollen to more than 2 million people by refugees displaced from the war-ravaged countryside.

To my surprise, I found the same atmosphere of lazy confusion that I remembered from earlier decades. Security precautions seemed casual or non-existent. At the Soviet embassy and government ministries, several bored Afghan Army soldiers were standing around; less than half a dozen policemen generally patrolled major intersections.

Soviet forces and Afghan army units stayed

out of sight in their suburban encampments, though Red army supply trucks occasionally held up traffic and a tank detachment turned up daily after dark to guard the Defense Ministry. The curfew hours from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. were quiet, almost ghostlike, except for one night when an exchange of artillery fire could be heard for several hours in the distant mountains.

One afternoon, March 9, police stopped my taxi at an intersection while six Afghan Army tanks hurried by on their way out of the city. I later learned that a riot had broken out at an army camp 10 miles away over a decree extending the conscription term from two to three years. After leaving Kabul, I was bemused to read a United Press dispatch reporting "heavy fighting in the Afghan capital" on that day, linked to "a major rebel attack on the city."

To be sure, I came away with more questions than answers, especially since I have only a rudimentary knowledge of Afghan languages. It was necessary to work through a Foreign Ministry interpreter in officially-arranged interviews. However, I was not prevented from setting up my own independent schedule, and I was able to meet on my own with a variety of English-speaking sources, among them Afghan friends from earlier years not working directly for the government and Soviet, Western and other diplomats, including the military attaches of several Third World embassies who have close contact with the Afghan armed forces.

Some of my most informative discussions were with leftist Pakistani political exiles whom I have known for many years. These included Pushtun and Baluch leaders with tribal ties in Afghanistan who are close to Karmal but were not averse to discussing his problems and weaknesses.

All taxis in Kabul are government operated, and my telephone in the almost empty Kabul Intercontinental hotel was audibly tapped.

Thus, even when I could arrange to be picked up by my informants, my movements were known, and for this reason, I did not attempt to seek out underground resistance leaders lest I compromise their security.

Karmal appeared relaxed and confident during our conversation, his first with an American since he was installed as president of the Afghan communist regime by Soviet forces in December 1979, following the assassination of his predecessor, Hafizullah Amin.

He is a short, wiry, hearty man who smiles engagingly, assures you that he is ready for a man-to-man exchange and then proves unable to resist amiable polemical lectures on

nearly every subject that comes up. It is not easy to break in with questions or to change the subject, but he submits gracefully when you make a determined effort. He alternates between careful English and rapid-fire Dari. His answers under pressure are sharp and penetrating, and he looks tough and cunning behind the genial facade.

Reliable sources say that Karmal, 55, suffers from high blood pressure and ulcers, but he showed no signs of fatigue or strain during our meeting. A team of Soviet doctors reportedly visited him here in November, and he goes to Moscow periodically for medical treatment. "I'm quite all right," he said when I raised the health issue.

While I found our meeting valuable in sizing him up, I learned more on specific issues from my other conversations.

Most of my sources agreed that the desertion rate in the Afghan army is gradually dropping and, except for several Western diplomats, there was a credible consensus that improved coordination between the Afghan army, paramilitary police forces and intelligence services now enables the Russians to utilize Afghan forces to a greater extent than in the past in combat operations.

In the brutal Soviet-Afghan offensive just inflicted to the Pansjer Valley, Soviet forces, especially Soviet aircraft, have played the predominant role. The Pansjer area, with its unusual concentration of organized resistance strength, poses a special challenge to the Soviets. In another recent battle in Urgan province in January, Afghan units bore the brunt of the fighting. According to accounts in Kabul, some 5,000 resistance fighters, using RPG-7 rocket launchers, 12.7 millimeter heavy machine guns and a few anti-aircraft missiles, controlled an eight-square-mile area until they were swamped by more than a division of the Afghan army, supported by Soviet air and artillery cover. Government sympathizers concede that the "counterrevolutionaries" were heavily outnumbered but stress that the Afghan army did not crack during a week of intense fighting.

Most observers attribute the improved coordination in the Afghan security machinery to gradual progress over the past four years in building a new leadership network in the ruling People's Democratic Party based on young, Soviet-trained recruits not involved in earlier factional struggles between the Khalq wing of the party, identified with Amin, and Karmal's Parcham wing. Factionalism and personal rivalries are still a problem, but Karmal has won over some key Khalqis and diehard Khalqi generals have been largely replaced as competent officers have emerged from training schools operating here under Soviet control.

More than 375,000 Afghans are on the Soviet-subsidized payroll of the Karmal regime and some 10,000 Afghans are now being trained in Moscow. I'd guess the size of the Afghan army is about 60,000, though the official Afghan figure is nearly 70,000 and Western diplomats doubt that it exceeds 35,000. The government scraped the bottom of the barrel when it added 15,000 recruits between July and November last year; it will probably be difficult to sustain the present level as conscription terms expire. But the government is backing up the army by equipping police units with armored personnel carriers, mortars and special tank battalions.

While the resistance remains fragmented, the government has begun to build a much more far-reaching administrative structure. But while the war continues, the government will have difficulty extending its administration, since 60 percent of the members of the ruling party have been assigned to the army, the police and the intelligence service. This built-in personnel problem may explain the effort now getting underway to work out power-sharing arrangements at the local level with the traditional tribal leadership.

Karmal was responsive and specific when asked about his recently-enacted legislation giving extensive local powers to tribal chiefs.

Unveiled in early March after a long interne-cine struggle within the ruling party, the law was pushed through with Soviet help by his dominant soft-line faction despite opposition from doctrinaire Marxists favoring the forcible imposition of centralized communist control throughout the country.

Afghanistan is largely a tribal society, and even local religious leaders depend for their authority on a partnership with the powerful tribal *maliks*. Karmal's late predecessor, Amin, attempted to replace the tribal power structure with a communist administrative network, arousing armed resistance that helped to set the stage for the Soviet occupation. Karmal has avoided this mistake but is only now beginning his effort to set up local government machinery in which the tribes, as such, will have formal representation in accordance with their numerical strength. On paper, at least, the ruling party promises not to run candidates for local bodies below the level of the *woleswadi*, or district, roughly equivalent to several countries in the West, which would give the tribes *de facto* autonomy. As an added incentive for tribal participation in the new institutions, Kabul plans to pay salaries to tribal leaders and to turn over central government development outlays to the tribal-dominated local bodies.

"We will take the human approach, the democratic approach," Karmal said, "not like Amin, who wanted to crush everyone who disagreed with him. Our party will guide and lead, but we will not interfere. We know that the party and the state cannot do anything without the help of the elders of the country."

Karmal said that the new tribal-based local

government units would be formed "soon" and would in turn select representatives "within a year" to a national *Loi Jirga*, or tribal assembly, similar to the ones convened by former King Zahir Shah. "We could do it within a month," he said, "but it would be artificial. We wish to treat this national institution with the greatest respect."

Kabul feels under pressure to hold a *Loi Jirga* soon because the ex-king, living in exile in Rome, hopes to hold one of his own later this year to unify the resistance, probably in Saudi Arabia, drawing on tribal personalities and resistance leaders inside Afghanistan as well as some based in the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan. Karmal ridiculed Zahir Shah, declaring that "the people would never accept anything associated with the feudal despotism of the past." But Zahir Shah still enjoys considerable prestige, especially among the Pushtun tribes.

Kabul plans to make an unabashed appeal to tribal self-interest, arguing that participation in the new local government setup will bring economic benefits and political rewards while a boycott will lead to reprisals.

Once local bodies are chosen, it is argued, tribal landowners in Pakistan will have to come back or their land will be given away. If the principal leader of a tribe remains in Pakistan, cooperative lesser leaders of sub-tribes will be given local authority, and if the tribes in one *woleswadi* refuse to join the projected institutions, pressure will be applied by giving authority over the district in question to the one next door.

Karmal's tribal strategy may have some success if he lives up to his pledge not to run communist candidates for local office. If he really gives the tribes local autonomy, including freedom from taxation and conscription, and funnels money to them; many tribal chiefs may well close off their areas to the resistance. But it is far from clear how the policy will work in practice.

Karmal objected vehemently when I commented that most of those fighting in the resistance were motivated by patriotic feelings in the face of a foreign military presence and might well spurn his new plan. "They are tools of foreign powers, they destroy mosques and schools, killing their own people," he replied, "so how can you talk of patriotism?"

Karmal pointedly noted that he was vice president of the Kabul communist regime when the United States recognized it following the 1978 coup. "The United States and others recognized our revolution then," he said, "and the present government is a logical continuation of that government."

Describing the 113,000 Soviet troops here as "a reserve force, a deterrent," he said that "the issue in 1979 was our territorial integrity. We needed Soviet help to prevent the dismemberment of the country. Pakistan wanted to annex the Pushtun areas and China was attempting to take the northeast. To be or not to be was the question for Afghanistan."

This was a more explicit charge than Karmal has made in the past that Amin was colluding with the United States and its friends to carve up the country. Former Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi confirms that Amin was frantically seeking to arrange a meeting with him just before Soviet troops took over, but disclaims any knowledge of what Amin had in mind.

All the returns are not in on this critical phase of the Afghan drama. My research indicates that Moscow did become increasingly suspicious of Amin as a potential Tito in 1978 and 1979. But the main reason Soviet leaders disliked Amin was that he was a free-wheeling nationalist who refused to accept the role of junior partner that Karmal seems to swallow, and who insisted on using brutal tactics that fueled anti-Soviet resistance.

Despite my efforts to meet six other key figures in the politburo of the ruling party, Karmal was the only member of the high command who would see me. The message apparently was that it would not be easy to get rid of him as part of a negotiated settlement leading to a Soviet withdrawal. United Nations mediator Diego Cordovez has been conducting indirect negotiations between Pakistan and Kabul on the draft text of a projected settlement. Pakistan has demanded Karmal's replacement as a precondition for direct talks, describing him as a symbol of the Soviet occupation. Moscow had indicated a readiness to downgrade or remove him during the early months of the Andropov regime, but has now stiffened its posture.

In assessing his staying power, it is often forgotten that Karmal, son of a former general in the royal Army, was elected to the Afghan parliament from Kabul twice during the king's democratic experiment in the '60s. He has always had a grudging acceptance among educated Afghans as an intelligent "moderate" communist who has fought consistently against repressive policies. His reputation has been besmirched by his collaboration with the Russians, but several non-communists told me with conviction that life is better than it was under Amin and that they would rather have a man like Karmal, dedicated to modernizing the country, than some of the Islamic fundamentalist leaders based in Pakistan, whom they identify with a rigidly theocratic approach to social and economic issues.

To counter propaganda that it opposes Islam, the Karmal regime pays stipends to religious figures at all levels, including functionaries of mosques, and a special government department keeps mosques in good repair. Land belonging to religious dignitaries is exempt from land reforms. In contrast to the harsh land redistribution measures of the Amin period, peasants are now free to own up to 15 acres.

There is not much Marxism in the thriving Kabul bazaars, where American dollars are

freely exchanged at twice the official rate. Kabul is a favorite center for laundering black money from the Persian Gulf, India, Pakistan and Iran.

Japanese goods are everywhere. Trade with Pakistan has also been largely unaffected by the war, though truckers complain that they now have to make bigger payoffs to the border tribes to get safe passage. Now, as in past decades, the government winks at smuggling pipelines that run through the country from Europe and the Gulf to the border areas adjoining Pakistan, a massive source of additional profit for the canny border tribes.

Commerce Minister M.K. Jalakar, a suave, 49-year-old non-communist carryover from earlier regimes who has two sons living in New York, stressed that one of the first things Karmal did was to issue a decree guaranteeing private property. Businessmen, he explained, can get tax holidays up to six years for new investments, together with customs-free imports of machinery. Afghanistan has had many difficult periods," he reflected. "This difficult time will also pass. People are tired of fighting. They will find a way."

The Soviets Are Not Winning

Selig Harrison's article, "The Soviets Are Winning in Afghanistan" [Outlook, May 13], has outraged the Afghan community throughout the United States and is truly worthy of some serious comments.

It is true that during the last four years the Karmal regime has exhausted all its efforts in establishing a popular and legal base for its rule, aimed primarily at the "local power brokers." But the simple fact remains that the Karmal regime was installed and has since been protected by over 115,000 Soviet troops. All popular and autonomous policies undertaken by the Soviet-backed clique have backfired and have not diminished the strong resentment of the Afghan people, who have overwhelmingly and actively rejected the Soviet intervention.

Besides, how could anyone size up the strength and determination of the

Afghan Resistance in eight wintry days from a hotel suite located in a remote section of the city of Kabul and come up with the conclusion, as stated in the headline, that the "Soviets are winning in Afghanistan"? Having had a unique opportunity to see for himself, why did Mr. Harrison not raise the question of human rights violations in Afghanistan; of the alleged imprisonments, tortures and executions carried out by the Soviet- and East German-backed Afghan state security apparatus?

It would have been much more beneficial and instructive if Mr. Harrison had taken the time to travel with the Afghan Resistance, witnessing the real events of the country and had given us a complete and scholarly view of the situation.

WPost 5/24
OMAR SAMAD
Executive Member
Afghan Youth Council in America

Annandale

WAS US WRITER DUPED IN AFGHANISTAN? is the title of Shabbir Hussain's rebuttal to Selig Harrison. It was printed in the *Asian Monitor* of 7/27.

Selig Harrison of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and onetime correspondent for *The Washington Post* in Asia, is known in Pakistani circles for his planned, motivated writings which, to some, appear even deliberate distortions.

— The first knowledge I had about this power of his was when I read a long article by him published many years ago on Baluchistan. In this article, he magnified the so-called secessionism of the Baluch people.

Since I had spent more than a year in Baluchistan, not out of pleasure, but as a punishment — and obviously could have no soft corner for the then government — I could as an objective viewer detect the strains of Harrison's solitary tune of further break-up of Pakistan.

Wishful Writings

Later, his views on the same subject became an expanded form of wishfulness, not becoming of an independent writer belonging to an independent endowment.

Another feature of this trait of Harrison appeared in the form of an article published in the May 13 issue of *The Washington Post* on the subject of Afghanistan.

In this article, in contrast to what Harrison said about the non-existent resistance of the Baluch people, he happened to be all praise for the Soviet-installed regime of Babrak Karmal.

The first question asked by usually informed persons in Islamabad was how did Harrison go to Kabul, and with whose blessings and for what purpose.

A reputed Afghan freedom-fighter-cum-intellectual, Dr. Syed B. Majrooh, has come out with a lucid analysis of what Harrison presumed to be the reality in Afghanistan and what he tried to project in *The Washington Post*.

I am tempted to place Majrooh's article before the readers to illustrate where Harrison actually stands, and against what monstrous farces the Afghans have stood up for the past four and a half years and are determined to continue their struggle.

Some Views Quoted

Majrooh says: "During his eight-day stay in Kabul, Harrison was evidently convinced that:

1. The Soviets are succeeding in building an increasingly efficient Afghan army loyal to the regime.

2. There is now a functioning administrative apparatus "manned at critical points by highly motivated Afghan Communists loyal to Karmal."

3. "Kabul is now a cohesive city-state run by a reasonably unified Afghan communist machine."

4. The largely tribal structure of Afghan society is being taken into consideration and is to be offered a share of the power through a planned Loya Jirga (the traditional People's Great Council in Afghanistan)."

Now the question is, how did Harrison come to the above conclusion? His argument in favor of the Kabul regime seems to be based mainly on a three-hour interview with Babrak Karmal. The puppet president of Afghanistan expounded his political line in "amiable, polemical lectures" no doubt confident in the knowledge that Harrison would not be permitted to meet the people most involved to check the veracity of his statement of the viability of his proposed solution of the Afghan crisis.

Harrison was denied access even to other members of the Politburo.

Even during his eight-day visit, Harrison was witness to an event which just a small amount of further investigation on his part would have caused him to question—the conclusion that the Afghan army was growing in strength and efficiency.

Continued
on p. 22.

Help for an Injured Guerrilla

Special to Asian Monitor

ISLAMABAD — An Afghan guerrilla who was severely burned by incendiary material during a clash with Soviet and Afghanistani troops has been sent to West Germany for treatment.

He was flown in a chartered plane, the cost being borne by an Afghan charity organization, Union Aid. This is for the first time that an Afghan guerrilla has been taken to a European country in a chartered plane because of the seriousness of his wounds.

The victim, Abdul Qadir, 22, was burned while fighting in the Manda Rawar area of Laghman province. A Soviet artillery shell landed near him, setting the surrounding area afire. Both his legs and arms were paralysed and most of his body was badly burned.

Before his departure, Qadir said he hoped that all countries who claimed to defend human rights would increase their help to the Afghan guerrillas, who he said were fighting for the liberation of their country.

AsianMonitor, April 13, 1984

State Dept. Silent on Afghan Report

By AZIZ HANIFFA

WASHINGTON — The State Department last week declined to comment on an assertion by a syndicated columnist that it had been lobbying against legislation introduced by Sen. Paul E. Tsongas, Democrat of Massachusetts, and Rep. Don Ritter, the Pennsylvania Republican, calling for effective American aid for the Afghan resistance.

A column by Jack Anderson stated that although the legislation introduced by Tsongas and Ritter had the endorsement of President Reagan, "behind the president's back, the State Department has been lobbying against the legislation."

He wrote that "one official, Howard B. Schaffer, urged the Senate Foreign Relations Committee behind closed doors to water down or eliminate the bill."

Department spokesman John Hughes said that while he would not respond specifically to assertion by Anderson or to the issue involved, "I would just say that the underlying assumption that there is a difference of opinion between the State Department and the White House on this issue is completely untrue."

Jack Anderson's column appeared in the 6/14

Washington Post:

State Officials Lobby Against Aid to Afghans

For almost two decades, the United States was portrayed on the world's television screens and front pages as the big, bad aggressor in Vietnam. Never mind that no U.S. troops ever invaded North Vietnam, never mind that North Vietnamese troops trespassed regularly into Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. Han's revisionist leanings were rhapsoed in the press.

In stark contrast, the brutal Soviet conquest of Afghanistan has been all but ignored by the world press. Did you know, for example, that the Soviets have been carpet-bombing Afghan areas under guerrilla control? A single Tupolev-16 Badger bomber can dump nine tons of bombs. They fall in a close, deadly pattern, creating a carpet of explosions. One village after another has been obliterated.

This annihilation is only the latest cruelty that the Soviets have visited upon the Afghan people. The invaders have caused incalculable misery in this bleak land, massacring recalcitrant villagers and poisoning their wells. A terrible catastrophe has befallen the brave, hardy Afghans.

Yet except for a few reports, the story has gone untold. Editors have failed to grasp the magnitude of the Soviet crimes in Afghanistan; reporters have not confronted Soviet officials; columnists haven't elaborated on the ramifications.

Anderson did not indicate in his column why the State Department was taking such a stand except to say that, "Apparently, the State Department doesn't want to antagonize the Soviets."

Meanwhile, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who recently returned from a month-long visit to Asia said here in a published interview that the United States was doing as much as it could to help the Afghan mujaheddin.

In an interview with editors of the *Washington Times*, Kirkpatrick, asked whether the U.S. should do more than it was in Afghanistan, replied: "I would remind you that I am a member of the administration and the government and I am bound by the rule that binds all of us in discussion of covert activities."

She added, I would only say that we are giving as much support to the Afghan resistance as possible. This is difficult for us to do. I think that the Afghan people have suffered a great deal."

She pointed out that the war had now lasted longer than World War II and that the current Soviet offensive in Afghanistan was the most brutal since the outset of the war.

"I think, perhaps, that the Afghan freedom fighters are just extraordinarily heroic and are obviously fighting against incredible odds, with inadequate weapons," she said.

Asked if it were her impression that the Soviet Union was consolidating a degree of support in Afghanistan that would in time produce dominance, as claimed in a recent *Washington Post* story, Kirkpatrick said:

"I think it is always the case that conquerors can find quinslings if they are uninhibited enough in the use of terror and determined enough in their occupation."

However, she said that she did not have any evidence that there was any such reaction widespread enough to constitute a movement.

"Everything I read is contrary. I read several stories in the European press. Generally they, like our sources, emphasize the continued resistance of the Afghan population, and the continued high level of defection from the Afghan army," she said.

AsianMonitor, June 29, 1984

MESA MEETING

The 18th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Assn. will be held at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel in San Francisco from 11/28 - 12/1. Further information is available from MESA, Dept. of Oriental Studies, Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721.

(602) 621-5850.

The cruel facts should have been laid out on the front pages until mass opinion cried out against the Soviet excesses. Yet these facts have been largely discarded or ignored in news rooms around the world.

In my journalist's presumption, I have tried to influence public opinion by sounding several alarms. I sent a reporter to Afghanistan to bring me a firsthand report. He drew a full, Afghan-style beard, dressed in native robes and crossed five mountain ranges in the guerrillas.

The resulting column inspired Neil Blair, an indefatigable champion of lost causes, to form the Federation for American Afghan Action, which has raised money and shipped supplies to the Afghan resistance.

It has also sent Andrew Elva, a West Point graduate and former Green Beret, on four trips into Afghanistan. He found that the arms reaching the freedom fighters are incredibly poor. Some kill more Afghans than Soviets, he said. And invariably, the good weapons are short of ammunition. "The current level of aid is a condemnation to a slow death," he reported.

Meanwhile, Neil Blair's stalwarts, skilled in the ways and rhythms of exerting pressure, have taken their plea to Congress. In response, Sen. Paul E. Tsongas (D-Mass.) and Rep. Don Ritter (R-Pa.) have introduced legislation calling for effective U.S. aid for the Afghan resistance.

This has the endorsement of President Reagan. But behind the president's back, the State Department has been lobbying against the legislation. One official, Howard B. Schaffer, urged the Senate Foreign Relations Committee behind closed doors to water down or eliminate the



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bill. Apparently, the State Department doesn't want to antagonize the Soviets—who, as I recall, never hesitated to pour arms into Vietnam for use against American troops.

Meanwhile, the Afghan guerrillas are continuing their resistance with more courage than weapons. The legendary mujaheddin commander, Ahmed Shah Massoud, has succeeded in uniting diverse factions and has stopped the seventh Soviet

offensive against his forces.

With pitiful firepower, he has fought a hit-and-run war against Soviet troops, which are heavily backed by armored vehicles, helicopter gunships, jet fighters and bombers.

They have been no match for Massoud's elusive mountain fighters. He is known in the rugged, black country as "the lion of Panjshir." But without claws, the lion cannot withstand many more assaults.

'We Can Melt the Mountains'

At the People's Palace in Kabul last week, Afghanistan's President Babrak Karmal granted an exclusive interview to NEWSWEEK's Patricia J. Sethi. Excerpts from their three-hour conversation:

SETHI: *In the West, people say you are a puppet of the Soviet Union. What's your response?*

KARMAL: It is actually an honor when imperialists and your enemies attack you with slander and lies. I would worry if they did not . . . Let me tell you that from the age of 18, I [was] an active member of the student movement in my country. I then took part in the national democratic struggle and helped found the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). I've been imprisoned for four years for my activities. I was elected twice by the citizens of Kabul to the National Assembly in the '60s. I was . . . vice president of the Revolutionary Council after the revolution of 1978. My record is clear: I was and I am a revolutionary in the service of my country and my people. Can a person with such a record be the puppet of anyone?

Q: *Then why do you have 110,000 Soviet troops and 4,000 Soviet advisers in your country? Doesn't that presence infringe on your independence?*

A: Throughout history, even during the British imperialist rule on the subcontinent, the Soviet Union has been the only true and honest friend of the Afghan people . . . With the revolution of April 1978, which overthrew the despotic feudal monarchical system in Afghanistan, there came a turning point in our relationship with the Soviet Union. As you know, when a ruling class is overthrown it never subjugates easily, it is not willing to give up its privileges. So the despotic, feudal, reactionary elements cohered into an unholy front against the revolutionary planned process in Afghanistan. They went to Pakistan, from where they plotted and planned attacks against the revolution. This lineup on the regional level was reflected in an international lineup: the progressive forces led by the Soviet Union

against reactionary imperialist forces led by the United States . . . The integrity of Afghanistan was endangered. We asked our Soviet friends for assistance in accordance with the 1978 treaty of friendship and cooperation. They responded.

Q: *How serious is the guerrilla threat? There are reports that your government barely controls the cities while the rebels control the countryside.*

A: We are in full control of the country today. It is a historical fact, however, that



Moscow's man: No strings attached?

because of the mountainous terrain here and the rugged ravines and narrow valleys, feudal chieftains have run their territories and peoples with no connection to a central authority. This continues in remote areas even today. But we have established effective control down to the district level, giving local *jirgas* (assemblies) a great deal of power. Of course, predatory bands fanned by the reactionaries sitting in Pakistan continue to infiltrate and we react accordingly.

Q: *What about the Panjshir operation? If the threat is so minimal, then why was*

there the need for such an incredible amount of firepower to eliminate it?

A: We have enough firepower in Afghanistan to melt the mountains, but we would rather not do so because such operations can cost the lives of innocent people . . . Let me just say this: our limited operation in the Panjshir has totally suppressed the problem there. The Panjshir has returned to normalcy.

Q: *Have you eliminated the guerrilla group led by Ahmed Shah Massoud? Is Massoud dead or alive?*

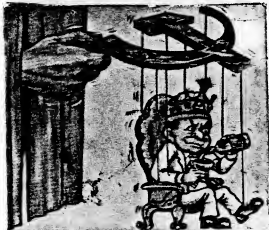
A: Who is this Massoud that you speak of? U.S. propaganda creates artificial personalities and false gods . . . As an actor, Reagan knows well how to create puppets on the international stage, whether it is in Chile, El Salvador or Africa. These creations are clay idols that disintegrate just as fast. Massoud was an instrument of the imperialists. I don't know if he is alive or dead and I don't care. The Panjshir issue has been resolved.

Q: *How do you reconcile a left-wing revolution with the Islamic traditions of Afghanistan?*

A: There is an erroneous opinion in the West, fed by the imperialist propaganda machine, that this is a revolution against Islam. Islam is full of progressive principles: peace, honesty, truth, equality, respect for one's neighbor. The revolution in Afghanistan is entirely in agreement with these principles . . . A revolutionary government should be at the service of its people, and what the people want, we want. Islamic beliefs and traditions are part of Afghan society, and we respect them.

Q: *But you cannot be Islamic and communist. A socialist revolution does not encourage religion.*

A: But this is not a socialist revolution. When the PDPA was founded in the 1960s, it had a left-wing ideology. But you cannot dictate a political system through slogans. It must emerge from the grass roots. Ours is a national democratic revolution that is antifeudal, anti-imperialist—with a socialist orientation.





As the guerilla war goes on in Afghanistan, Afghan refugees here fight a war of words with each other. Spokesmen for the various resistance groups readily meet foreign visitors to promote their own positions and thoroughly denigrate competing groups.

The so-called fundamentalists claim the coalition of moderates is led by old notables with religious titles or large landholdings, now living comfortably in exile and unable to mobilise significant popular support. The moderates, meanwhile, claim that fundamentalist movements never had much strength within Afghanistan, but only flourish in exile where ambitious young men have capitalised on international support for Afghan refugees and resistance to the Soviet Union. The criticism in both cases has some validity, which partly explains why the competition among the two coalitions is ferocious and occasionally ends in armed conflict.

The coalition of moderates has leased new quarters in central Peshawar — a sprawling compound of barracks filled with guerillas. A shiny white sign in front reads "The Islamic Unity of Afghanistan" — somehow it has escaped the claydust that envelops everyone and everything else in Peshawar.

Security guards carefully search visitors. "They are checking for KGB agents," the guide explains. But old-timers in Peshawar say they are worried about bomb attacks from rival groups, especially the fundamentalist Hezb-i-Islam whose heavily guarded compound is just up the road.

The spokesman for the moderates is an old man, previously a large land owner in the Ningrahar province bordering Pakistan, and a high-ranking civil servant under King Mohammed Ali. He joined the resistance before the Soviet invasion, in the Mohammed Taraki-Hafizullah Amin period when his property was seized. Now, he says, the resistance has finally reached a turning point: the competing coalition led by fundamentalists is cracking, splinter factions will join his coalition, and the new-found unity will set the stage for the return of the king as symbolic head despite the vocal opposition of the two fundamentalist groups.

Leaders of these two groups are not in town. Rabbani of the Jamiat-i-Islami is somewhere in the Middle East cultivating connections. Hekmatyar Gulbuddin of the Hezb-i-Islam is in Iran to patch up relations with Ayatollah

Ruhollah Khomeini, who at the end of 1983 started to pressure the approximately 1 million Afghan refugees in Iran to volunteer for the war against Iraq. Thousands left instead for Pakistan. Khomeini's move is roundly condemned by all Afghan resistance factions except the Hezb. "It's a minor issue," said a Hezb spokesman.

The Hezb representative is a young man who joined Hekmatyar's nascent Muslim Brotherhood movement among students at Kabul University in the late 1960s. The early 1970s were "difficult" years, he said, but since then things have improved: the Hezb now has more resources and more guerillas than the other political groupings, it has the strength to lead the resistance to a final military victory and it strongly condemns any efforts to negotiate or accept local ceasefires.

Some guerillas watch the politicking and reputed corruption in Peshawar with disgust, thus creating yet another division within the resistance — between internal leaders who have established a reasonably secure base within Afghanistan, and the external factions in Pakistan. Of the former, Ahmad Shah Massoud of the Panjsher Valley has received most Western media coverage (which apparently has earned him no new friends in Peshawar). Less well known to outsiders is Amin Wardak of Wardak province.

The main problem, according to Wardak, is to get assistance directly to the mujaheedin within Afghanistan who are "facing the bullets." The

political leadership of the resistance must be formed by those who are actually doing the fighting, not the various groups ensconced in Peshawar who are contributing minimally to the struggle.

His speech was delivered in fluent French at "the Peshawar office of the Wardak command," which is the home of an obviously affluent relative. The Wardak family constitutes a sub-tribe in the province that bears the name, and the sons of the tribal chief were well educated. Amin was working for a Franco-Iranian company in Iran when he was called back by his father to fight against the 1978 revolution. He now claims that most of the Wardak province is "liberated." He has a popular base — "his whole tribe is there," said a supporter — but he badly needs weapons.

All Afghan groups say they have plenty of men and courage but need arms, especially anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. Wardak's speech leaves some unanswered questions. Is the basis for cooperation among the internal leaders any greater than among the political groups in Peshawar? One may recall the great warrior-poet of Afghanistan, Khushal Khan Khatak, who wrote in the 17th century that any Afghan who raises his head will be cut down by others.

Wardak and Massoud, for instance, certainly have their differences. Massoud is a Tajik while Wardak belongs to the ethnically dominant Pathan. Massoud has concluded a ceasefire while Wardak says he will not as it will only play into the hands of the Soviets. Moreover, the two compete for external aid and contacts. Asked if he has any relations with Massoud, Wardak shrugs his shoulders and curtly answers: "No."

To what extent can the field commanders outmanoeuvre or circumvent the established groups in Peshawar? The Wardak command tries to cultivate its own external ties in a small way. There are posters on the wall from private and semi-public support groups in Europe. A small public relations effort has been mounted — there are stamps from "the free province of Wardak" and a statement describing the horrors of war ("tristesse et l'armes") and asking for more guns.

— ASTRI SUHRKE



Wardak with supporters: unanswered questions.

Dr. ShahRukh Gran, 33, is one of the leaders of the Afghan resistance in Kabul Province. A physician by training, Gran was active in the underground movement inside the city of Kabul until mid-1983, when he became deputy commander for the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan. Gran spoke recently with NEWSWEEK's MacLean Gander in New York about the current state of resistance efforts in Afghanistan. Excerpts:

GANDER: What is the situation of the resistance in Afghanistan today?

GRAN: In terms of morale and spirit, it's good. But from the standpoint of arms and ammunition and basic needs, it's very bad. We need basic things like shoes, warm clothes and medicine. And while we have been able to fight for more than five years, the Russians have become more aggressive. If we do not get support on the military side, we won't be able to win this war.

Q. How unified is the resistance? It seems that one of the problems you've had has been a lack of coordination between various factions.

A. In the Kabul area we are cooperating closely. In most areas the mujahedin are cooperating on the field side. But still, we have different opinions. There are two camps now, moderate and extremist. We are cooperating in the field, although maybe not in other ways.

Q. Will children growing up in Afghanistan under Soviet occupation feel your commitment to resistance?

A. We are trying our best to make sure of that. But the Russians have Sovietized the schools. They give special privileges to members of the Communist Party. And if students do not obey the political branch in the schools, they can lose their school identity cards. That means that anywhere they go they can be caught and taken into the military service.

Q. Are there any circumstances under which you would be willing to enter negotiations with Karmal or the Soviets?

A. No. Karmal is a puppet. To talk with Karmal and have Karmal go talk with the Kremlin and take orders from them—it is better to talk with the Russians themselves. But all the talk is just a way for them to buy time. The Russians are sometimes talking, and Karmal is talking, and someone else is talking through the United Nations, but all of them just want to gain time for themselves.

Q. What would happen if you did manage to push the Soviets out?

A. It depends what kind of war we would win. Will it be a bloody war? When we go into the cities, will they fight with us as we take over the country? Or would the end of the war come through a political solution? But we would not allow Karmal to continue to rule.

Soviet Target: Afghan Areas Aiding Rebels

By DREW MIDDLETON

Soviet forces in Afghanistan, now in their fifth year of fighting, have greatly disrupted the rural communities that have been supporting the Afghan rebels, military analysts say.

United States and North Atlantic alliance intelligence officials say many villages that have provided food, water and shelter to the Islamic rebels have been systematically destroyed by air strikes and armored forays. They say food distribution has been disrupted, livestock slaughtered and irrigation projects destroyed from the air.

The result, the analysts say, is that many village populations have left to seek refuge away from combat areas, leaving the insurgents without the supplies they need.

Afghanistan had a population of about 15.5 million when Soviet troops invaded in the last week of 1979. The Western analysts now estimate that three million people have migrated to Pakistan and a half million more to Iran and that at least another half million have been killed, wounded or driven from their homes.

Soviet Success Doubted

But the analysts stress that even with such destruction of the insurgents' rural support, they doubt that Soviet troops at their present force levels can secure conditions that would enable them to withdraw. One analyst notes that the Soviet troops lack the 10-to-1 numerical advantage that Western strategists generally believe is necessary to defeat an insurgency and says the Russians would need "massive reinforcement" of their 105,000 troops.

At the same time, the analysts do not believe that the insurgents have the military capacity to drive out the Soviet Army and Air Force, which is supporting the Kabul Government of Babrak Karmal.

Moreover, the Russians, in the view of one NATO expert, are not in a political position that would allow withdrawal, and they will not leave until they have established a secure and friendly Afghanistan that will be politically independent but militarily and economically dependent on the Soviet Union.

The Soviet forces appear to be following what one Western analyst calls "an enclave strategy." Intelligence officials said the troops had established strong positions in cities and towns along a major highway that runs south from Nizhni Pyandzh on the Amu Darya river boundary between the two countries. The town is also one of the main supply points for the Soviet Army and Air Force.

The highway runs south through Baghlan and Charikar to Kabul. Both these towns and the capital are garrisoned by strong Soviet forces. From Kabul the highway swings southwest through Ghanzi to Khandhar and then westward to Herat, ending on the Soviet border at Towaragondhi.

Garrisons Strung Out

Soviet garrisons are strung along the highway like beads on a string, an analyst said. But there, he pointed out, the enclave strategy departs from that attempted by the United States forces in Vietnam. Unlike the American forces, the Russians have made no attempts to venture out to build fortified outposts outside the garrisons. Punitive actions against the insurgents, the analysts said, are mounted from the garrison towns in the spring and fall and from the 12 major air bases in Afghanistan built or expanded by the Russians.

The Soviet forces are still on what one analyst described as "a learning curve."

They have learned, he said, that they cannot depend on the Afghan Army for effective antiguerrilla operations. Until recently the Afghans were used for infantry with the Russians supplying air, artillery and armored support.

These tactics were not successful. As a result, the Russians have been forced to use their mechanized infantry and their version of American rangers and British commandos in attacks on insurgents.

Another consequence of earlier failures has apparently been the adulteration of the Soviet doctrine of centralized command and control which even minor operations had to be approved by a higher headquarters. In recent operations, such as those this year in the Panjshir Valley, small-unit commanders have been given wider latitude in planning and carrying out minor attacks.

Copters Flying Higher

At the same time, pilots of Soviet helicopters, which now number about 340, have been instructed to fly higher to escape heavy machine-gun fire from the insurgents and to call for high-altitude bombing by fixed-wing planes for the elimination of hostile strong points.

The insurgents' weaponry has improved only marginally over the last six months. Their representatives in Peshawar and Islamabad in Pakistan continue to clamor for heavy weapons.

Western analysts feel that the introduction of such weapons would rob the insurgents of mobility, their greatest advantage. Heavy weapons would force them to use roads, where they would be targets for Soviet air attack, rather than the hill paths over which they now move.

The desired solution, analysts said, is the wholesale supply of hand-held antiaircraft and antitank missiles. Until such weapons are acquired in significant numbers, these sources fear that the Afghan insurgents will be virtually helpless against Soviet air and tank forces and the Russian grip on the country will tighten inexorably.

QUETTA, Pakistan—Soviet troops killed at least 360 civilians in three villages near the southern Afghan city of Kandahar, then doused the bodies with a chemical that promotes rapid decomposition as a way to demoralize Afghan guerrillas, according to witnesses and survivors interviewed by The Tribune.

The massacre in the villages of Bala Karz, Mushkizi and Kulchabad, clustered on the outskirts of Kandahar, occurred Oct. 12 after two days of fierce fighting between Soviet troops and Moslem Mujahadeen fighters. The killings appeared to be revenge for heavy Soviet casualties, said survivors who have become refugees in this dusty Pakistan border city 140 miles south of Kandahar.

The Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December, 1979, and there have been repeated claims of such massacres, but they were difficult to confirm because of secrecy and poor communications.

LAST OCTOBER and November, Western diplomats in New Delhi gave sketchy reports of large numbers of civilians killed near Kandahar. But the first details from witnesses emerged only last week after survivors and witnesses crossed Afghanistan's southern border into Pakistan. Most had been living in Kandahar, where they fled after the killings, but in those weeks the Soviets bombed those dwellings, forcing them to flee to Pakistan.

More than a dozen survivors and witnesses were interviewed through independent Pathan-speaking interpreters in hospitals and refugee camps in Pakistan.

All of those interviewed spoke of heavy Soviet reliance on air power, helicopter gunships and artillery in the preliminary battles against the Afghan guerrillas, the effectiveness of such tactics and the retreat of the Mujahadeen into the surrounding fields that left the civilians defenseless when Soviet armored columns rumbled into the three hamlets on the morning of Oct. 12.

SURVIVORS, WHO HAD different vantage points in the villages, described in detail how the Soviets entered in tanks, armored personnel carriers and on foot with guns blazing, cutting down old people, women and small children where they stood. They said some villagers were lined up against walls and shot; others were gunned down in their homes.

Survivors reported widespread Soviet looting of money, jewelry and food. One woman said she witnessed an attempted rape of two young Afghan girls by Soviet troops that sparked a gun battle between the Soviets and their enraged Afghan army allies.

Animals also were killed, witnesses said.

Survivors said the Soviets doused the corpses with a chemical that accelerates decomposition to a matter of hours. They said the Soviets were aware of the widely held Afghan superstition that the bodies of Mujahadeen fighters decompose more slowly than those of the enemy, thereby proving the superiority of their religious struggle.

Survivors said the three villages are deserted. Before the reported massacre, the population in each had swollen to 3,000 because of the influx of scores of squatters from the countryside. They said two destroyed Soviet tanks, bullet-pocked houses and a mass grave for victims were the only remaining evidence of the grisly events.

IN RECONSTRUCTING the events, Abdul Wassi, 25, an Afghan guerrilla commander, said that two days before the massacre he led 200 fighters of the Jamiat-I-Islami guerrilla group, one of six major Mujahadeen organizations in Afghanistan, in a successful ambush against a Soviet armored column about four miles northeast of the three villages.

Wassi said his guerrillas destroyed at least a dozen Soviet vehicles and forced the column to retreat to its base 12 miles away at the old U.S.-built Kandahar airport.

The next afternoon, on Oct. 11, Wassi said, he learned that about 500 Soviet soldiers had regrouped and were moving with about 50 tanks and 50 armored personnel carriers toward the Khalki bridge intersection, which commands the western approach to the hamlets.

"We fought them at the bridge for several hours and destroyed four or five armored vehicles," Wassi said.

"Then . . . we retreated to the orchards and fields around the villages after sundown and from there staged hit-and-run attacks against the Soviets during the night."

Throughout the night, the Soviets kept the guerrillas pinned with artillery fire and air strikes, Wassi said.

Survivors said the people of Bala Karz, Mushkizi and Kulchabad could hear the fighting in the orchards that dot the slopes about two miles from the villages. But they said it wasn't until dawn on Oct. 12, when a few guerrillas managed to slip back into the hamlets, that some people learned that Soviet and Afghan army troops were about to enter the villages. Some villagers fled to the surrounding fields, survivors said, but many awoke that morning, not knowing of the danger.

In Bala Karz, Gul Bebe, a widow in her 40s with four children, two of them guerrillas, said she awoke early that day to lend a hand at a village wedding. Leaving her youngest two children at home, she said

she was visiting the groom's house when she heard shooting and explosions in Mushkizi, 300 yards down the road.

"I STARTED TO run home to fetch my children," she said. "A dozen women came running toward me and said the Russians had entered Mushkizi and killed many people. We began to run the other way, toward Kulchabad, when another group of women came running from that direction, warning us to turn back because the Russians had entered Kulchabad from that side. So we ran into the nearest house."

Gul Bebe said the 25 women watched from the windows as 50 Soviet soldiers appeared suddenly on the street, firing wildly and then fanning out to conduct house-to-house searches. One of the soldiers kicked open their door, and 10 Soviets entered the house, she said.

"The first thing the Russians did was start looking for food," Gul Bebe said. "They found some bread and began stuffing it into their mouths. They were very hungry. In the garden, one of the soldiers ate green peppers and became enraged when they burned his mouth. He pointed at the peppers and shouted, 'Dushman! Dushman!' ['Enemy' in Farsi] and then emptied his rifle into the pepper patch."

"We were very frightened and huddled together in a corner while the Russians ate like starved animals, tearing off huge chunks of bread with their teeth," Gul Bebe said. "Then they ordered us outside to another house."

As the Soviets marched them at gunpoint down an alley, Gul Bebe said she saw another group of soldiers rounding up about 20 people, including old people, women and children, in the village's center courtyard.

"JUST BEFORE WE entered the other house, I saw the people lined up against a wall and shot," she said. "I saw their bodies fall."

Inside the second house, Gul Bebe said, they joined five other women. She said the Soviets began looting their jewelry and money. "We told them to take everything but don't touch us," she said. At that point, Gul Bebe added, a few Afghan army soldiers entered the house.

Lowering her voice in shame, Gul Bebe then said, "There was an attempt on us. A few Russians took two girls, about 15 or 16 years old, and separated them from the rest of us. They tried to remove their *chadors* [Moslem gown-like veils]. One of the old women took out some money she was hiding in her dress and offered it to the Russians to leave the girls alone. The Russians took the money and kept on handling the girls and trying to tear off the front of their dresses. Then I heard an Afghan soldier shouting at the Russians in their own language. I looked at him, and he was trembling with anger."

"I was not worried about the girls anymore. I was very frightened for myself, and I was looking for a hiding place. Then I heard a long burst of gunfire, and I saw three Russians fall down. Then there was a silence, and I ran away as fast as I could. As I was running, I heard more explosions and shooting, and then I felt a hot pain in my leg. I fell into a hole and passed out."

AT THE SAME TIME that the Soviets were sweeping through Bala Karz, witnesses said, other units attacked Mushkizi and Kulchabad, which flank Bala Karz on the east and west.

Sardar Mohammed, 55, a Kulchabad farmer, said he was among about 30 elderly men who had gathered in front of the Kulchabad village mosque to await the Soviets.

"We had several instances before when the Mujahadeen retreated, and Russian and Afghan soldiers came in to search the village. Sometimes the old people even used to accompany them," he said. "But this time we heard shooting and explosions, and I ran to my house."

Sardar Mohammed said he reached his home just ahead of a group of Soviet soldiers who stormed into the house of Issa Jan, his neighbor. "My daughter and I looked over the wall and saw 10 or 12 Russians and 1 Afghan soldier in Issa Jan's house," Sardar Mohammed said. "We could hear Issa Jan say to them, 'If you want to search, please come in.' Then the soldiers shot him."

Sardar Mohammed said his daughter fled to another neighbor's home while he hid in the house's grain bin.

MEANWHILE, IN MUSHKIZI, Rai Mahmud, 20, a farmer and guerrilla sympathizer, stood on the roof of his home in the morning and saw armored personnel carriers advancing over the Khalki bridge into his village. He said he ran through the streets, shouting, "The Russians are coming!" and then dashed home, where he and his father hid in a concealed tunnel under the floor.

"When we finally came out of the tunnel, it was almost dusk. Everything was charred and burned. Then we heard wailing and cries for help and went outside. The Russians had gone. The first thing we saw was four old men lying dead in the street, and they were just the first bodies we saw."

In Kulchabad, Sardar Mohammed said, the same sudden eerie silence, punctuated by wailing, prompted him to climb out of his grain bin and walk outside. "I came out in the late afternoon and went to the house of my friend, Ahadar Mohammed," he said.

"Everyone was dead. Ahadar, his wife and his baby were lying on the floor covered with blood. His 9-year-old daughter was hanging over the window, half in the house, half out. It looked like she was shot as she tried to run away. The young son of 13 years lay crumpled in another corner with his head shot away. I

threw up. Then I carried the males outside into the courtyard and covered the women with pieces of cloth where they lay.

SARDAR MOHAMMED said other survivors joined him as he went from house to house in Kulchabad, searching for relatives, neighbors and friends. Some were found alive, he said. But in dozens of homes, the scene was the same: Entire families of 6 to 10, even 18 people sprawled on the floor, their bodies riddled with bullets.

"I saw with my own eyes 60 bodies altogether that day, and when we buried all the dead, I stopped counting after 150," he said.

Together with about 60 other fighters, the young rebel, Lal Mohammed, 25, entered his village of Mushkizi to find Rai Mahmud, his father and other survivors dragging corpses into the center square. Lal Mohammed said he entered one house and found a severed hand and bits of skull, hair and brain splattered on a wall and a woman's body crumpled on the floor below.

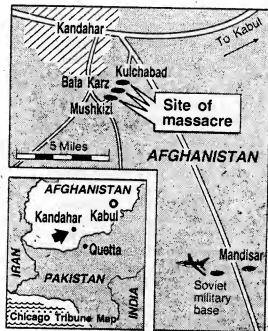
"THEN I WENT INTO the home of Khadar Mohammed Jan, a farmer, and found 18 bodies," he said. "In the home of Wali Mohammed Jan, I counted 14 bodies. Then we went from house to house and found everyone dead. Even the animals—the cows, the donkeys, the cats and dogs—were shot dead. Outside in the street, we found nine dead children. All were shot in the head. Some of them still had their toys in their hands."

Meanwhile, in Bala Karz, Gul Bebe regained consciousness at the bottom of a 3-foot-deep ground oven, unable to move her right leg where a bullet had shattered her shin.

"The first thing I heard was a small baby crying," she said. "After a while, I heard footsteps above and shouted for help. The person who took me out of the oven was my husband's cousin. He put me down in the middle of the courtyard and wrapped his *lagota* (turban) around my leg."

"I looked around the courtyard and saw many bodies of dead women and children and old people lying there. My husband's cousin went over and picked up the baby, which was trying to suck the breast of his dead mother. He carried the baby over to me and asked me to keep it until the rest of the villagers could come and identify their dead relatives."

"I WAS LYING there with the infant. The whole village was busy collecting dead bodies from the houses and laying them out in the courtyard. The stench was terrible. There were flies everywhere. I was told the Russians used a chemical on the bodies to make them rot faster. Some of the bodies were so rotten the relatives could only identify them by their clothing."



Gul Bebe said she spent a sleepless night in pain as survivors kept her informed of villagers who had been killed. She said she then remembered the group of people she had seen gunned down against a wall and told the villagers where the shooting had happened. She said they found that the wall had been destroyed by an explosion, but under the rubble the villagers discovered 23 bodies.

She also told the villagers about the attempted rape and the Soviets who had been shot. She said she was told later that the villagers had found 30 bodies of women in the house where the attempted rape took place but no bodies of Soviet soldiers.

THE VILLAGERS SPENT the night burying the dead in a mass grave, survivors said. Sardar Mohammed said 360 victims were buried. Lal Mohammed, who also helped bury the bodies, estimated that 100 people died in Bala Karz, another 100 in Mushkizi and between 160 and 170 in Kulchabad.

The morning after the massacre, Gul Bebe said, she was wrapped in a blanket along with the infant and placed atop a camel for a 60-mile journey with armed guerrilla escorts across the desert to the Pakistani border town of Chaman, where the International Committee of the Red Cross maintains a clinic for wounded Afghans. There, Red Cross officials put them on a train to Quetta, she said.

Since November, Gul Bebe has undergone five operations, two for bone transplants. The orphaned infant lives in the Surkhbad refugee camp outside Quetta. Gul Bebe's 7-year-old daughter joined her in Pakistan only last week. Her three sons, aged 10, 18 and 22, are guerrillas, fighting in Kandahar. Gul Bebe's account of the massacre was the first she gave to a Western newsmen since she arrived in Quetta.

MOST OF THE OTHER survivors interviewed said they remained in their villages until a few months ago to harvest their crops, then moved to Kandahar to join relatives. But on June 28, the survivors said, Soviet warplanes heavily bombed the guerrilla-controlled quarter of Kandahar, killing at least 200 people.

From the Editor:

Controversies abound! Reports by American visitors to Kabul have caused consternation on 3 continents that we know of; Congress, the CIA & assorted politicians have come under fire from many who feel that the fire power they are giving the Afghans is not enough; Khalqis & Parchamis continue to squabble, guerrilla alliances come & go; who holds the Panjsher? This issue is full of it.

The editor went to Quetta & Peshawar with a quick trip to Chaman. In Quetta we shared the limelight with a visiting Japanese wrestler & his horde who were getting good mileage out of wrestling demonstrations for the benefit of Afghan refugees. The benefits were not readily apparent but their tour made for colorful ceremonies - a pipe band, tartan clad, & a bedecked painted truck at the airport & a goat sacrifice in front of the Bloom Star Hotel.

Since it takes 10 days to become an expert & we were only there for 8, we'll give impressions. Refugee housing looks much more solid - mud and, in some instances, brick & concrete. We met the geodesic dome people who are erecting their domes - at a cost of Rs. 3,200/dome - but so far only for administrative purposes. UNHCR tents, which cost about Rs. 1,600 each are being sold by the refugees for Rs. 900 - making the UN officials somewhat leery of the Afghan sense of values. Nevertheless, the Afghans are taking over the economy of Baluchistan running some of the finest bazaars this side of Kabul. The Baluch are not appreciative and refugee officials anticipate friction.

Photos of Gulbuddin are widespread although, to be fair, we saw Zahir Shah's picture on a mud wall. Gulbuddin usually appeared on more substantial surfaces.

The UNHCR educational director makes his rounds in Baluchistan by helicopter. Even averaging 2 camps per day he says he cannot cover all the refugee schools in a year.

Refugees we met in Peshawar are scratching out their livings - \$100/month for a couple with 6 children. Some refugees make more, some less. None seem very happy in Pakistan.

To end on an up - the Agha Khan has bought Dean's Hotel in Peshawar.

Mary Ann Siegfried

H.E. Shah Moh'd Dost, Minister of Foreign Affairs will lead the DRA delegation to the 39th session of the UN General Assembly. Others on the delegation are H.E. Mr. Moh'd Farid Zarif, Permanent Representative of the DRA to the UN; Mr. Es-haq Roshanrawan, Dir. of the Information Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Nahim Hoqooq, Int'l Relations Dept. of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. M. Ebrahim Nengrahary, Mr. Shah Mahmood Mastamand, Mr. Ali Ahmad Joushan & Mr. Sayed Kamaluddin all of whom are 2nd Secretaries of the DRA UN Mission. Mr. Rohollah Erfaqi from the Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs will be an Adviser.

NOTICE

As we announced in Vol. XII, #2, the FORUM will become a bimonthly in 1985 and the subscription price will rise accordingly. The new rates are as follows:

Individual - US & Canada \$20
(To include Forum Papers
in your subscription, add
\$5.00.)

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All subscriptions expire with this issue and a handy renewal form is enclosed for your convenience. All current subscribers, however, will receive the January FORUM which will contain a renewal reminder as we know many of you are forgetful. Remember, subscriptions make nice gifts; we announce your largesse with an appropriate card; and we appreciate your tangible support.

Sardar Mohammed, Rai Mahmud, Abdul Wassi and their families were among those who crossed into Pakistan last week in the wake of the Kandahar bombing, according to records of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Pakistan.

For the men, hardened by four years of war against the Soviets, the killings already seem to have blended into the tapestry of violence and displacement that envelops their lives. "What is the need for so much talk about this killing?" Sardar Mohammed said at one point in the interview. "It was a massacre. It is still going on."

But Gul Bebe still is confused about the events of Oct. 12. "I heard many stories about the brutality of the Russians from our men, but I always found it difficult to believe they could do such things," she said. "You know the men, they are always talking and exaggerating. Even now I find it difficult to believe what happened."

"The only time it is real for me is at night, when I keep seeing all those bodies. They won't go away. I keep telling myself it is only a dream."

QUETTA, Pakistan—Soviet troops in Afghanistan, supported by greater air power than ever before, have launched a new scorched-earth offensive in an effort to win a war that has dragged on for nearly five years, according to rebel fighters and Western diplomats. Moslem guerrillas conceded that the new Soviet tactics are increasingly effective.

Guerrilla commanders and their men, interviewed recently in this Pakistani city 80 miles south of the frontier, said the latest offensive around the southern Afghan city of Kandahar appears to be part of tactics implemented late last year that include carpet bombing of cities, agricultural areas and guerrilla concentrations, as well as coordinated air and helicopter support for Soviet infantry.

They said a new combat ethic toward civilians encourages Soviet troops to shoot first and ask questions later.

In the Kandahar area, guerrillas said the policy resulted in a massacre last fall of at least 360 civilians in three small villages and in the heavy bombing late last month of Kandahar, in which at least 200 people died.

IN APRIL, the Soviets used massive air power to seize the strategic Panjsher Valley north of the Afghan capital, Kabul. Guerrillas had used the valley as a stronghold to ambush Soviet convoys moving along the Salang Highway, a vital supply line from the Soviet Union to Kabul.

A Newsweek journalist who visited Afghanistan this summer reported "clear evidence of carpet bombing" in the Panjsher Valley, with rows of bomb

craters pockmarking the valley walls where the guerrillas had sanctuaries. Western diplomats in New Delhi who maintain contact with their embassies in Kabul said the valley now is under Afghan army control.

"Since late last year, the fighting has intensified," said Yusuf Ayubi, a guerrilla who is acting director of a Quetta hospital for wounded Afghan refugees.

"Before, the Russians stayed in entrenched positions and drew attacks from the Mujahedein [guerrillas]," he said. "Now

the Soviets are on the offensive, venturing out in armored patrols with close air support to find and kill the guerrillas."

ABDUL WASSI, A 25-year-old commander with Jamiat-i-Islami, one of six major Mujahedein groups in Afghanistan, conceded that the new Soviet tactics had forced the guerrillas to change their own.

"Some of our civilians now blame us for inflicting casualties on the Russians and angering them," he said. "Now when we hear that some Russian forces are coming, our tactic is to retreat and stage hit-and-run attacks, because the Russian response to a big Mujahedein assault is total destruction."

Wassi, a refugee at a sprawling tent camp outside Quetta, said the Soviet use of warplanes and helicopter gunships, along with artillery and rocket launchers, was more effective against his forces than ground clashes. On the ground, he said, the guerrillas often had the advantages of surprise and favorable defenses.

"They have changed many things in their tactics," he said. "They used to fight us face-to-face. Now they don't face us. Instead, they use the ground troops to draw our fire and locate our positions, then they call in artillery and air power to hit us from far away. It is a cowardly way to make war, but we are having difficulties against it."

SOVIET BOMBING raids, such as the one June 28 on Kandahar, have sent more civilians and guerrillas fleeing to Pakistan. More than 3 million Afghan refugees have come to Pakistan since the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan in late 1979, say international refugee relief workers.

Afghans who recently arrived in Pakistan said that before last month's bombing raid, most of Kandahar was in the hands of guerrillas, with Afghan army troops controlling only the walled bazaar and the heavily guarded government compound in the northern quarter of the provincial capital. They said the bombing had reduced large parts of the city to rubble.

Since last fall's reported massacre in the villages of Bala Karz, Mushkizi and Kulchabad near Kandahar, Soviet attacks on civilians were becoming more frequent, refugees from the area said.

Lal Mohammed, a 25-year-old guerrilla, described how he and his men watched from the hills last month as Russian troops in a tank stopped a civilian car near a Soviet base about 12 miles southeast of Kandahar, robbed and shot the five occupants and then used the tank to flatten the car—with the victims still inside.

"**BEFORE**, THERE were isolated instances when the Russians would shoot civilians," he said. "But now it is increasing in a more systematic way. They seem to be intentionally creating an atmosphere of terror."

He said the Soviets appeared to be relying less on Afghan army forces, in general using them only as translators in routine village patrols and to occupy pacified areas after Soviet troops had driven away the guerrillas.

Western intelligence sources say the Afghan army has been plagued by desertions to the guerrillas.

And the Soviets suspect that many Afghans in uniform are secretly sympathetic to the Mujahedein cause. The sources estimate the size of the Afghan army at 20,000, and the number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan at 150,000.

DESPITE their setbacks in some regions, the guerrillas said other areas and cities remain firmly under their control or at least hotly contested. They said a Soviet offensive appeared to be shaping up against the western city of Herat.

Guerrilla commanders said they continue to receive ammunition and weapons, including rocket-propelled antitank grenade launchers, land mines and radios, through pipelines from friendly countries, among them the United States, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Tainted News

To the Editor:

Unlike the Vietnam War, which was an "open" war, the current Soviet-Afghan war remains closed to correspondents, except those approved by the Soviet Union. And those permitted inside are given only an official, limited view of the war.

Several European scholars and politicians accepted invitations from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (D.R.A.), which used these visits as propaganda and broadcast reports implying that the scholars recognized the legitimacy of the regime.

Most Western news media reports are based on official D.R.A. handouts or monitored broadcasts of the Government-controlled Radio Kabul. Soviet sources, Western diplomats or accounts by those few intrepid Western reporters who accompany Afghan mujahidin (freedom fighters) to various fronts inside Afghanistan.

However, major stories, like those on the recent (and seventh) Soviet invasion into the Panjsher Valley needed better information than was apparently available to correspondents. (Incidentally, the correct transliteration is "Panjsher"—Valley of the Five Lions—not "Panjshir"—Five Milks.)

The most important Panjsher military commander, Ahmad Shah Massoud (of the Jamiat Islami party), evacuated most of the civilian population before Panjsher-VII, because he knew of the forthcoming Soviet offensive as early as late February. Massoud had been warned by Afghans in the military loyal to the resistance. At least 50,000 Panjsheris left their villages just before the attack.

The number of internal refugees, those who have left their home villages but have not yet crossed over into Pakistan or Iran, is unknown.

One reason for the widespread current Soviet offensive is that the period from mid-March to late August finds the Afghans engaged in maximum agricultural activities. If the people cannot harvest their crops because of constant military pressure, food shortages will probably be acute for the mujahidin next winter. The Soviets are apparently trying to destroy the mujahidin in all the provinces of the north. Soviet tactics continue to be the "rubbilization" of Afghan villages, in an attempt to drive them out of the country—a kind of "migratory genocide."

It should not be forgotten that the Soviets have been fighting in Afghanistan for longer than they were in World War II, nor that about five million Afghans of a 1978 population of approximately 15 million are refugees, mainly in Pakistan and Iran.

LOUIS DUPREE
Visiting Professor, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
Princeton, N.J., May 25, 1984

Beware the Bear Bearing Gifts

HARTFORD COURANT 8/8

Rhea Talley Stewart

The leaders of the Soviet Union plan to visit Kuwait. This international social note is of interest for the resemblance it bears a 1955 visit of Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolay Bulganin to Afghanistan.

That visit followed an agreement whereby Soviet Russia would sell arms to Afghanistan, an agreement considered the first in a series of steps that led to the occupation of Afghanistan by Russia.

Kuwait has just made a similar deal with the Soviet Union. Also, both nations turned to the Soviet Union only after trying, with no success, to buy arms from the United States.

In 1953 the prime minister of Afghanistan, Shah Mahmud, told the State Department, "It is unlawful for a Moslem to eat pig meat unless he is starving, but if we were starving we will eat pig meat." The Afghans were truly starving for arms but those of the Russians seemed unclean because the Russian bear would demand payment in more than afghanis or rubles.

If the Afghans were to have an ally, they thought, let it be far-off, compassionate America. Some American officials tried to help. In 1949 the United States had passed the Mutual Aid Act permitting arms sales wherever such sales were in the U.S. interest. The State Department had expected that the bill would be open-ended, giving it the flexibility to designate where U.S. interests lay.

But Congress insisted on naming the recipients, and it named Greece, Turkey and Iran, where it considered Russia an immediate menace.

During World War II, Secretary of State Dean Acheson praised Afghanistan as being "the only true neutral," but its neutrality made it ineligible for lend-lease aid.

And later the United States yielded to the wishes of her neighbors, chiefly Pakistan, that the Afghans not be armed.

The Afghans were tenacious and optimistic. Years passed before they finally abandoned hope. One turning point may have been the visit in 1953 of

Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

The State Department documents pertaining to that visit are not included among those of the early 1950s released to the public in the National Archives, but a retired Afghan general told me: "After Nixon's visit there was a wall between Afghanistan and the United States." And an Afghan prince, who in 1953 directed the Kabul military, told me, "We had so little ammunition that it was no longer possible to hold target practice."

Only then did Afghanistan decide to accept the arms that Russia had been pushing toward it all this while. With this in mind Prince Daoud was installed as prime minister. He thought he could

ride on the back of the tiger with impunity, and went down in a blaze of Russian-supplied bullets, with many of his family and advisers, in April 1978.

For with the Russian arms had come the Russians themselves. By the late 1970s it was generally conceded that the Afghan Air Force was being run by Russians. And a hard core of Marxist sympathizers with military power had grown up in Afghanistan. These were just a handful in the population, but a handful that the Soviet Union was willing to aid in a coup in April 1978 and to maintain as puppets from December 1979.

During that 1955 visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to Afghanistan, the Afghans asked them to pave the streets of Kabul. They had made the same

request of the United States, which had decided that the number of motor vehicles did not justify paving.

Kabul was the only national capital in the world with unpaved streets. Pride demanded that paving. Khrushchev and Bulganin agreed to it. Since the Marxists came to power, the streets of Kabul have added trolley cars.

Kuwait, of course, can afford to pave its own streets with gold. But since it is one of those oil lands to which Afghanistan is just a steppingstone, it had better learn a history lesson that escaped the United States: Beware the Russians bearing gifts.

Rhea Talley Stewart of Manchester is the author of "Fire in Afghanistan, 1914-1924."



Michael Michalczyk / Special to The Courant

An interview with Diégo Cordovez by Iftikhar Ali of the Pakistan Press Agency appeared in the PT on 8/22. Excerpts follow:

Q: What are your expectations from the forthcoming Geneva talks on Afghanistan?

A: The understandings reached when I last visited Islamabad and Kabul provide in my view, a solid basis to move the diplomatic process forward and to overcome the difficulties that my interlocutors must overcome if a solution to all the pending issues is to be achieved. I trust that the discussions will show that my interlocutors want to persist in the search for a comprehensive settlement. In that sense I see this round as essentially "indicative" of the will to achieve a mutually acceptable, honourable and fair solution. In the present state of international relations this is essential. It would be a pity if my interlocutors were to allow this problem to be part of the East-West confrontation—and thus one more element of the paralysis that characterises world affairs at this time.

SOVIET ATTITUDE

Q: In July, you accompanied Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on his visit to Moscow during which he had talks with the Soviet leader, Konstantine Chernenko. What is the attitude of the new Soviet administration towards settling the Afghanistans problem?

A: The Secretary-General received very categorical expressions of support for his efforts with regard to the situation in Afghanistan. The Government of the Soviet Union repeated its well-known position in connection with outside interference but, at the same time, indicated very clearly that this is the only aspect which determines its attitude with regard to the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. The President of the Soviet Union expressed the hope that in this next round of talks it will be possible to make progress towards a settlement. He stressed that there should be no doubt about the sincerity of the Soviet Government.

The Secretary-General and I have received similar ex-

pressions of support from all other governments, who have indicated their strong interest in the achievement of a negotiated political settlement.

Q: What specific issues you expect to tackle in Geneva-II, and prospects of solving them?

A: As you know, this round of talks will be conducted in a somewhat different format. "Proximity" talks are held within the same building—in this case the Palais des Nations—through the intermediary of the personal representative of the Secretary-General. I hope that this format will expedite the talks. I will not be required to wait several hours to get a reply. The "shuttle" from one delegation to another is much faster. Short of direct discussions, it is the best procedure for diplomatic negotiations.

In accordance with the understandings reached for the convening of this round of proximity talks my interlocutors will focus on the crucial issues of the negotiation and will start working on the instruments required for the implementation of the comprehensive settlement. It is expected that in that context my interlocutors will tackle the very difficult questions that have slowed down the diplomatic process. What I personally expect is that my interlocutors will make an earnest effort to overcome the distrust and suspicion about motives and intentions which has unfortunately characterised this process from the beginning.

I know that each side wishes to move forward but they have tremendous doubts about each other's positions and policies. I therefore expect that due attention will also be given to the subject of "international guarantees". If we can tackle and reach full agreement on this matter, mutual confidence will be increased and one of the key aspects of the negotiations will have been solved. It would be a very significant step in the formulation of the "package" that these negotiations are intended to produce.

Q: Having said that, could you give me your personal assessment—as frankly as possible—about reaching a comprehensive settlement on Afghanistan? ...

There is no lack of good intentions international support and willingness to work. But there is also considerable distrust. Some of the positive factors that led to progress in April 1983 are no longer there. But on the other hand there is I hope a greater sense of urgency, because a process such as this cannot go on for ever. In fact, time is running short for the achievement of a negotiated solution—which is the only rational solution. I would expect that all concerned will bear in mind that while these negotiations are conducted the Afghan people cannot be reunited in peace so that they can decide their own future and work for their own well being and prosperity. I need hardly say that the plight of the Afghan refugees is constantly in my mind and remains the overriding humanitarian motive of the United Nations endeavours in this context.—APP

WRITER DUPED

continued from p.13

He described in his article how on March 9 his taxi was stopped "while Afghan army tanks hurried by." Later he learned that a riot had broken out at an army camp 10 miles away.

Harrison treats the incident almost dismissively but the riot was a full-scale mutiny at a major army barracks and it was mirrored by outbreaks in other garrisons throughout Kabul in response to the announcement that conscription was to be extended in the capital by one year.

Soldiers manning outposts and guarding the airport in Kabul ran away overnight, swelling the number of the fleeing mutineers. And this happened in the very week when Harrison says, "Most of my sources agreed that the desertion rate in the Afghan army is gradually dropping."

As a tribute to their growing efficiency, Harrison says there was a "credible consensus" that the Russians were able to utilize the Afghan forces to greater extent in combat operations.

He cites the battle at Urgun as a proof but admits that they were supported by Soviet air and artillery cover. It has been the policy of the Soviets to use Afghan ground forces wherever possible to minimize their own losses —

hardly a sign of trust and a luxury they may soon no longer be in a position to enjoy with the dwindling numbers of the Afghan army.

The Soviets could not even rely on the elite 444th commando unit of the Afghan army. When the unit was told recently that it was to be deployed in Panjshir, it suffered massive defections.

In his article, Harrison quotes the figure of "more than 375,000 Afghans on the Soviet-subsidized payroll of the Kabul government." But there is no comment as to loyalty and efficiency. And if, as he, says 60 percent are seconded to the security forces and subject to the inherent casualties of these duties, Harrison's "built-in personnel problem" becomes a crisis.

Growing Resistance

Does Harrison stop to wonder at the fact that there is no shortage of manpower among resistance ranks, whatever other shortages they may have to contend with?

Harrison found Kabul "a cohesive city-state run by a reasonably unified Afghan Communist machine." How did he reach this conclusion? If the author had time and access to better information, he would have found that behind the apparently quiet and lazy facade of Kabul each day and each night, people are arrested in the streets, in their homes, in their offices and at the university. Why did not the author ask to visit the KHAD torture houses and see the Russians in action?

No Visit to Jails

Why did he not express the wish to visit Kabul jails and talk freely with political prisoners? If he had tried to walk some three miles out of the city, he would have found his "cohesive Communist state" shining by its complete absence; he would have been received by a hospitable resistance and would not have been prevented from discovering the truth if he had any wish of that kind.

The key points of Babrak Karmal's interview seem to be his hopes for establishing a future Loya Jirga, in which he says he will be handing over an element of local government to tribal leaders.

Carrot and Stick

Karmal described the carrot and stick inducements he plans to offer the elders, by saying: "Once local bodies are chosen, tribal landowners in Pakistan will have to come back or their land will be given away. If the chief of a tribe remains in Pakistan, helpful lesser leaders will be given local authority, and if the tribe as a whole refuses to join the projected institutions, pressure will be applied by giving authority over the district in question to the tribe next door."

So much for Karmal's claim that "we wish to treat this national institution (the Loya Jirga) with great respect." cont. on p. 23

U.S. Aid to Afghan Rebels

A \$50-million line item in a congressional appropriations bill has lifted — slightly — the curtain of secrecy surrounding efforts by the U.S. government to help rebels in Afghanistan.

There seems little question that the CIA is providing weapons, communications gear and other supplies to the Moslem "mujahideen," who have inflicted heavy casualties on the 100,000-plus Soviet troops who have occupied Afghanistan since December 1979.

But conflicting news reports, and statements by U.S. officials, the Soviets and the rebels, have raised questions about the purpose and extent of U.S. involvement in Afghanistan.

After simmering for years on Washington's back burner, the issue surfaced July 26, when the House Appropriations Committee approved \$50 million to aid the mujahideen. At the administration's request, that panel added the money to an omnibus supplemental appropriations bill.

The committee's action was supposed to be secret; the \$50 million was inserted under an account for "other procurement" by the Air Force, a frequent hiding place for the CIA budget. The committee briefly closed its doors when it considered the issue. But the secret leaked out within several hours, and the next day *The Wall Street Journal* published the first report describing the aid.

The \$50 million is only the latest dose of U.S. aid to the Afghan rebels. While specifics are disputed, sources say the United States already has provided \$200 million to \$300 million to the rebels since mid-1979 — months before the Soviets invaded to consolidate their control of the communist regime in Kabul.

U.S. aid to the Afghans, said one intelligence source, "dwarfs in size and scope" the CIA's much more controversial aid to anti-government guerrillas in Nicaragua.

Congress placed a \$24-million limit on aid to the Nicaraguan rebels in the current fiscal year, 1984, and the Democratic-controlled House has blocked President Reagan's requests for another \$21 million.

In contrast to the Nicaragua operation, the Afghan aid enjoys wide support in Congress, which has routinely funded administration requests.

"I don't know anybody who wants to be against backing religious freedom fighters against the atheistic horde from the north," said U.S. Rep. Charles Wilson (D-Texas). "You can't make a case against it."

The United States is only one of several countries providing direct material support to the resistance groups in Afghanistan: China, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Egypt also

reportedly have sent guns, mortars, anti-aircraft missiles and other equipment to the mujahideen, according to press reports and intelligence sources in Washington.

But as the other superpower, the United States is symbolically the most important support of the resistance against the Soviet Union. Afghanistan is the only point in the world where weapons supplied by the United States are being used on a daily basis to kill Soviet soldiers and airmen.

In one sense, the war in Afghanistan works to the United States' advantage. The war causes a major drain on the troubled Soviet economy and offers an easy target for U.S. propaganda attacks against Russian "imperialism" in the Third World.

Some Afghan rebels accuse the United States of wanting to prolong the conflict so that the Soviets will become bogged down in a decades-long, Vietnam-type war. The United States has provided just enough aid to cause discomfort to the Russians, but not enough to give the Afghans a chance of winning, those rebels said.

"What we have received has been so pathetically inadequate and ineffective, it is a condemnation to slow death," said Mohammed Nabi Salehi, the Washington representative of three so-called "moderate" rebel groups.

Salehi said the Afghan groups have not received enough equipment and ammunition for all their fighters, and many of the arms have been "old and unworkable."

The rebels, meanwhile, are "rat-holing some (of their arms) for the great fight when the Russians are run out" and the various factions try to gain control, according to Wilson.

Selig Harrison, a Washington foreign policy analyst who recently visited Afghanistan, said limits on aid to the rebels have been imposed by Pakistan, not by the U.S. government.

"The Pakistanis do not want to provoke the Soviets," he said. "The CIA would like to do much more, I am sure, but Pakistan won't let them."

Harrison, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, also rejected the rebels' charges that the administration wants to prolong the war at the expense of the Soviet Union.

"It is a question of [the United States] not having a carefully thought-out policy," he said. "People in the administration don't believe the Soviets are willing to get out, so there is an unwillingness to work out a negotiating position that will lead to the Soviets' getting out."

At the same time that Congress has been voting covert aid to the Afghans, Sen. Paul E. Tsongas (D-Mass.) has been trying, without success, to get Capitol Hill to go on record supporting the rebels.

Tsongas' seemingly innocuous resolution expresses the sense of Congress that the United States should provide "the people of Afghanistan, if they so request, with

material assistance, as the United States considers appropriate, to help them fight effectively for their freedom."

It would be "indefensible," the resolution states, "to provide the freedom fighters with only enough aid to fight and die but not enough to advance their cause of freedom."

Tsongas first introduced his resolution on Sept. 30, 1982, with every member of the Senate co-sponsoring it but one: Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.).

Mathias objected to the measure as a "Tonkin Gulf-type resolution" that could give the administration a blank check to provide any kind of aid. He blocked action on it in the Foreign Relations Committee at the end of the 1982 lame-duck session.

Tsongas re-introduced the resolution in October 1983 with only 68 cosponsors. In the interim, Senate sources say the CIA quietly opposed the resolution on the grounds that any public discussion of the issue would endanger the supply lines for U.S. aid to the Afghans.

Largely because of CIA opposition, some 30 senators who had co-sponsored the resolution in 1982 refused to do so again in 1983, among them Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.) and Intelligence Committee Chairman Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.), and four of his colleagues.

Tsongas in January agreed to several changes that watered down the tone of the resolution. But the administration repeated its opposition to the clause calling for direct aid to the Afghans, and at a closed committee briefing in January, State Department officials insisted that it be eliminated.

An aide said Tsongas did not want to discuss the matter.

Wilson said he opposes drawing attention to the issue: "I don't think those guys ought to be pushing it in a public forum. Whoever is helping [the Afghans] has been doing it very cleverly. The Soviets haven't been able to nail them."

John Felton

HARTFORD ADVOCATE AUGUST 15, 1984

WRITER DUPED cont. from p. 22.

Unsuccessful Projects

Another surprising factor is that Harrison, despite his knowledge of the past of Afghanistan, mentions the very similar solution by the Karmal regime and its supporters of a National Fatherland Front, which flopped.

Selig Harrison raises many issues and floats many claims in his article giving an overall impression which he does not substantiate in his piece. He claims to have carried out an independent investigation but his sources for that have not enabled him to establish a well rounded view of the situation.

Islamic Republic of Iran

REFUGEES – May 1984

Ours was not the first UNHCR mission to Mashad, the capital of Khorasan. Colleagues had, in July 1983, been witness there to the delivery of a consignment of 3,500 large tents which constituted part of UNHCR's response to Iran's request for emergency assistance in the face of a new influx of Afghan refugees. We saw quite a few of those tents during our field visit on 17 and 18 January 1984.

We drove on the first day to Sabzevar, a large town located 230 kilometres west of Mashad. A Transit Centre for refugees was opened there in early 1983 on the site of a public park. About 3,000 persons

including 800 children – are accommodated in some 600 tents erected on cement platforms. The camp, which includes several service buildings has good sanitation installations and an excellent water distribution system.

Most of the camp's refugees were brought to Sabzevar from border areas in line with the government's policy of transferring all Afghan refugees at least 30 kilometres from the border. We were informed that refugees rarely stayed more than two months after which they are

sent to towns throughout the province and beyond. One of the camp's features is a job placement office which, we were told, functioned well.

On 18 January we travelled to Dogharan, 250 kilometres east of Mashad where a refugee reception centre has been opened and where refugees find a first shelter after reaching Iran. They stay in Dogharan from one to four weeks while medical and security checks are being carried out before being sent to their relatives' if they have any in the country or to Transit Centres such as the one in Sabzevar. There are currently 100 UNHCR tents in the camp and it is planned to erect 200 more shortly. There were about 450 refugees in the tented camp on the day of our visit and 250 more, newcomers from Herat and Kabul, housed in the reception building, a converted "motel".

In both Sabzevar and Dogharan measures are required to supplement the very commendable work already undertaken by the Council for Afghan Refugees of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Following our visit, the High Commissioner approved an assistance programme for the two camps totalling US\$ 550,000. This will finance the provision of supplementary food for vulnerable groups, the purchase of medical supplies, cooking stoves, cloth and boots for children, the construction of sewage tanks and the installation of several pumps.

Additional sites requiring UNHCR assistance will be identified in co-operation between the authorities and UNHCR through on-site visits during the coming months.

CAROL FAUBERT
HASHIM UTKAN

REFUGEES – August 1984

At the end of May, a second Project Agreement between the Council for Afghan Refugees of the Islamic Republic of Iran and UNHCR was signed in Geneva. Its purpose is to provide material assistance valued at US\$ 1.9 million to Afghan refugees in the Province of Sistan-Baluchistan. Together with a similar project launched earlier this year in Khorasan Province (see REFUGEES No. 5, May 1984), this brings UNHCR funds made available for assistance in Iran since January 1984 to nearly US\$ 2.5 million.

Though covering an area as large as France, Sistan-Baluchistan was home until recently to only 800,000 people. The arrival over the past few years of an estimated 200,000 refugees from Afghanistan has inevitably placed a severe strain on an already fragile socio-economic infrastructure, particularly as regards health and water resources. The problem is aggravated by the heavy concentration of refugees in urban areas where they sometimes outnumber the local population. A typical but by no means unique example is provided by Khash district where 16,000 locals are hosting 28,000 refugees.

According to local officials, the influx is continuing unabated. The great majority come from Afghanistan directly while some transit first through Pakistan. Reports indicate that 14,000 arrived during April and May 1984. A sizeable number among them, however, soon move on to other provinces to join relatives or in search of job opportunities.

Upon arrival, the refugees are briefly confined to quarantine camps near the border entry points. These have been established following an upsurge in the number of victims of contagious diseases in the Province, the state of health of new arrivals often being very poor. The refugees are thought to be responsible for a resurgence of malaria in the area and tuberculosis and cholera are spreading rapidly. The quarantine camps thus serve a dual purpose: offering curative services to the sick and protecting the local population from contagion.

After quarantine, the refugees are transferred to reception centres, away from the immediate vicinity of the border, where they stay up to three months. Beyond that they are encouraged to become self-reliant by moving where employment is available. Refugees in Iran are free to work in almost all sectors of the economy.

The UNHCR assistance programme in Sistan-Baluchistan focuses on three reception centres at Zahedan (on the outskirts of the provincial capital), Mirjaveh and Khash as well as the villages around them. It is intended to supplement measures already undertaken by Iran's Council for Afghan Refugees. The latter will continue to provide the refugees with basic food rations.

UNHCR activities mostly concentrate on health services – which account for one third of the total budget – the purchase of water tankers to service remote refugee villages and the provision of household items (blankets, cooking/heating stoves, kerosene lamps, cloth, cooking utensils). These efforts all address the most immediate needs of the refugees. In the long run, relief by itself cannot solve the problem – but it is a beginning.

CAROL FAUBERT
HASHIM UTKAN



Another leader of the 3 Parties Alliance is Pir Syed Ahmad Gailani. He is a firm supporter of Zahir Shah. He strongly favors Zahir Shah's proposed United National Front for Afghanistan.

It is also interesting to know the views of the Jamiat-i-Islami Party... It is also opposed to the proposed United National Front. Its leader, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, has time & again declared his opposition to the idea of the said Front of Zahir Shah. He says that his party will never support such a front. Although there have been rumors in Peshawar that Prof. Rabbani & Mr. Khalis will support Zahir Shah, but all such rumors have proved false. Prof. Abdul-Rab-Rasul Sayyaf is also opposed to Zahir Shah. He, too, strongly rejects the idea of a United National Front as Mr. Khalis, Prof. Rabbani & Mr. Hikmatyar do. It is believed, however, that work for the proposed front has made some progress. It is expected that there will be a joint meeting between Zahir Shah & his supporters some time near the coming Eid festival in Saudi Arabia.

It is speculated that after their meet they will put into practice their future plans. If they think they can succeed without the support of other parties of Afghan resistance they are mistaken. They will have to take into consideration the influence of the other parties as well. The said parties who are opposing Zahir Shah can play an important role in the future of Afghanistan. No one can ever succeed without the support of those parties at all. They would not be in a position to frustrate the enemy's designs."

[A 3-month subscription to the Afghan Islamic Press publications is \$20. Subscriptions should be addressed to Moh'd Yaqub Sharafat, PLS Acct #404, Habib Bank, Khyber Bazaar, Peshawar.]

REFUGEES

Pakistan: summer migration

REFUGEES 7/84

In the Punjab, estival migration from the refugee village at Kot Chandana to upland regions has led to a decrease in the refugee population from some 60,000 at the end of March 1984 to an estimated 35,000. Refugees are not likely to return in force until the end of the hot season in mid-October. The lower population has led to a corresponding reduction in the demand for services.

PESHAWAR — As many as 268 employees working for the Office of the Afghan Refugees Commissioner have been dismissed during the last seven months, *The Pakistan Times* reported.

They were fired because of corruption and malpractice charges against them, the paper said. During the last five years, almost 1,500 employees have been let go on various charges.

In all, the newspaper said, there are about 6,500 personnel people working on the staff of the Afghan Refugee Commissioner.

ASIAN MONITOR 3/16

ISLAMABAD — The government has decided to shift all Afghan refugees from Baluchistan cities and move them to tent villages, *The Muslim* said, quoting what it called reliable sources.

The decision was taken recently when it was feared that the growing influx of Afghan refugees in Baluchistan cities had become a source of trouble for the local administration and population.

More than 10,000 Afghan refugees are now living in Quetta alone. They are also reported to be running businesses in the provincial capital as well as in other cities of the province. Besides, the paper said, many refugees have bought property, though the government has declared such transactions illegal. ASIAN MONITOR 3/16



Copyright M. Kobayashi

Tuberculin surveys have revealed that an unusually high proportion of refugee children is infected with tuberculosis: between 25 and 30 per cent, as against 13 per cent among the local Pakistani children, and the prevalence of tuberculosis among the refugees is high. For instance, in Baluchistan province the pool of cases is estimated at 13,000, including 4,000 bacillary cases, among the 700,000 refugees. The crowded conditions in the 56 refugee villages create most favourable conditions for rapid transmission of the disease.

A total of 51 basic health units in Baluchistan provide curative, promotive and preventive health services to the refugee population, with Pakistan government services covering 80 per cent of the refugees, while voluntary agencies cover the rest.

REFUGEES — August 1984

ORGANIZATIONS

AFGHANISTAN EDUCATION COMMITTEE, University Post Office, P.O. Box 796, Peshawar (Acct # 284822931, Grindlays Bank, Peshawar).

Established in December last year, the committee has received applications for over 160 schools with about 30,000 pupils in 14 provinces inside Afghanistan. The committee will coordinate educational materials (books, blackboards, pencils, etc.) and pay qualified teachers \$35-40/month. Schools will be set up in any available location - tents, caves - and at first will concentrate on grades 1-3. A donation from the Swedish Committee will permit the start of 43 schools in 7 provinces starting in September. The donation will only cover 4 months and more funds are needed as a 12-month budget for the project is estimated at \$75,040. Ingemar Anderson of the Swedish Committee in Peshawar is the chairman of the group; Prof. Batinshah Safi, formerly of Kabul Univ., is the vice chairman. Other Committee members are Dr. Gazi Alam, Romey Fullerton, Abdul Samad Qadiri, Massoud Khalili, S.B. Majrooh & Johan Fågerskiöld. [The Forum has a few copies of the Committee's prospectus which we shall happily send to interested groups upon request.]

AFGHAN AID ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 299, Peshawar.

Farooq Mirranay directs this program which has a TB control program, in-camp health projects, a central clinic & an education program. Afghan Aid was established as a "non-political humanitarian organization to provide medical care & educational programs to people in the 'liberated' areas of Afghanistan & for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Subjects to be taught in the 1st 3 grades of their schools are theology, Pushto or Dari, mathematics & sports. By the 4th grade some history is added with social science & health care plus religious subjects & the Quran. [This is a Gulbuddin operation.] Their bank account is #711, Habib Bank Ltd, Nouthia Branch, Peshawar.

The KOMITE-YE VATA PARASTAN AFGHANI MOGIM-E PAKISTAN in New Delhi is sending appeals to refugees to return to Afghanistan to take advantage of Babrak's amnesty offers. The drawing below (reduced) appears on their literature.



Information on a number of European organizations is given in the Recent Publications section on p 29.

The CHICAGO AFGHANISTAN RELIEF COMMITTEE Suite 810, 220 South State Street, Chicago, IL 60604, is selling note cards with drawings reduced from their 1981 calendar. A weaver, a caravan & a scene from Nuristan are on the cards which come in packs of 12. ↓



Shooting of 'Khyber Horse' in mid-September

ISLAMABAD, Aug. 13: Shooting of the dollar 10 million "khyber horse", movie will begin in mid September, the film-maker said on Monday.

Preliminaries have almost been finalised and the last consignment of essential equipment will arrive in Pakistan in a week's time. About 100 foreign technicians and 200 Pakistani skilled workers will help in the execution of this project.

The arms and ammunition to be used in shooting is being imported from England. The arms included swords, daggers and guns which were used in the beginning of the 19th century. The raw material for the furniture will also be imported from abroad.

Mahmud Sipra, the renowned international producer-director who is making "Khyber Horse", said that it was an action and adventurous film dealing with the era at the beginning of 19th century in the NWFP. "We will endeavour to show to the international audience, the traditions of culture, hospitality and valour as described in the code of life of Pathans and called 'Pukhtun Wali' or 'Pukhtun brotherhood', he said.

Mr. Sipra also said "we will do a visual implementation of Pathan's code". "We will also try in NWFP to bring into focus the traditions of the British Indian Cavalry Regiment he said. "We will not project", what he called "the old Hollywood idea to show the natives of the subcontinent as a subservient people, without having any traditions of their own".

"We will feature the culture, traditions, courage and ethos of the region in

objective manner", he said.

He said that an international cast will be featured in movie but some Pakistanis will also be included in it. Some of them even may not be in the film industry at the moment.

"We will badly miss, the late celebrated Actor James Mason who died a few days before," he said. Mr. Sipra has been able to attract a large number of highly skilled professionals of the international film industry to work for the Khyber Horse.

It will feature Khattak Dances, the best of the tent peggings by the horse riders from the Punjab and other cultural and social aspects of the life in these areas.

Mahmud Sipra said that the locations for the shooting of the film have been selected and he has visited those sites. During his visit to some of the areas, he was very much moved by the hospitality and love shown by the people of area in keeping with their traditions.

Khyber Mail 8/14

FILM ON REFUGEES

RAWALPINDI — Pakistan Television will screen in the country later this month a film on the plight of Afghan refugees, Dawn said.

Titled "House Without Foundation" it has been co-produced with the Netherlands Television.

A spokesman for the state-run Pakistan Television said that it will later be shown all over the world.

The 28-minute film has narration by actor James Mason.

The theme is the burden that the three million Afghan refugees and their livestock have placed on the host country, Pakistan.

It shows the Afghans living a carefree life in various Pakistani cities, the paper said.

Asian Monitor 7/20

BITS FROM BOOKS

From a review of ENVOY TO THE MIDDLE WORLD by George McGhee, Harper & Row, NY, 1984 in the FEER of 7/26.

"Prior to McGhee's trip to Kabul in 1951, Prince Moh'd Naim visited Washington. He pressured McGhee on the issue of US military aid to Afghanistan and hinted that if it were not forthcoming, the Afghans might have to talk to the Russians. McGhee wrote the phone number of the Soviet Embassy on a piece of paper and handed it to Naim 'whereupon we both laughed.'"

John Chancellor reviewed Vol. II of William L. Shirer's 20TH CENTURY JOURNEY: A MEMOIR OF A LIFE AND THE TIMES, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, in the NYT of 5/27:

"One stifling October day in 1930," he writes, "at a party in Bombay, I ran into the crown prince of Afghanistan." The crown prince enjoyed Mr. Shirer's company and took him home through the Khyber Pass to Kabul, despite a warning from a British colonial official who told Mr. Shirer, "Your life wouldn't be worth a rupee in that wild place." Afghanistan had been closed to foreign journalists for two years, and Mr. Shirer's reporting from there would help win him a place among a class of journalists that included John Gunther, Dorothy Thompson, Vincent Sheehan, Paul Gallico and, later, Edward R. Murrow.

From the 8/19 NYT

At the Receiving End

Some telephonic lore from Charles Berlitz's collection of curious facts about language, "Native Tongues" (Perigee).

The first telephone operators, who worked in Connecticut in 1878, answered the telephone ring not with "hello" but with a nautical "Ahoy."

One answers the phone in Russia sometimes with *hallo* and sometimes with *Shloosayu* ("I am listening").

In several of the Swahili-speaking nations of Africa, one answers the phone with *Jambo*, a Swahili greeting which means "nothing the matter."

In the more conservative Arab countries, *na'am* ("yes") is preferred over the international "hello." In Iran and Afghanistan, the local word *baleh* ("yes") is preferred over the international "hello." Where "hello" or *allo* does not sound natural, other words are used. In Greece *embros* ("come in"), in Japan *moshi moshi* ("excuse, excuse") and in China *wei* (also used to call animals to their feed) are used.

A memorable quote from a member of the "Khyber Horse" crew: "It took 20 minutes to boil a 4-minute egg & it's raw!"

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

THE THREAT OF FAMINE IN AFGHANISTAN, A Report on Current Economic & Nutritional Conditions, by Frances D'Souza prepared for Afghan Aid & funded by the Overseas Development Administration of Great Britain, London, 1984. (Afghan Aid, 18 Charing Cross Road, London WC2N 0HR, Great Britain.)

Summer stories in SOLDIER OF FORTUNE: "Speltratz Silencer Captured in Afghanistan" by David Isby, August; "Harassing the Bear" by David Isby & "Night Raiders on Russia's Border" by Mike Winchester in September.

SCHMUCK AUS ZENTRALASIEN by Inge & Joachim Frokot, Munich, Verlag Callwey, 1981. 156 pp., illus. DM 88.

Vermutlich Brustschmuckplatte, Turkmenien, Ersari. Silber, Treibarbeit, Mandelblütenmotiv. Wird möglicherweise auch als Hutschmuck getragen. B 19,4 cm



THE MIDDLE EAST & SOUTH ASIA FOLKLORE NEWSLETTER, edited by Benedict G. Johnson & Dwight F. Reynolds, is available from them at the Dept. of Folklore & Folklife, 415 Logan Hall, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104. The first issue appeared last spring and noted the following upcoming publications on Afghanistan by Margaret Mills: "Structure, Texture & the Personal Voice in Afghan Folktales (forthcoming in Edebiyat) & "Sex Changes, Sex Reversals & Transsexual Disguise in Afghan Folk Tales" (to appear in WOMEN'S FOLKLORE, WOMEN'S CULTURE edited by Kalçik & Jordan).

Nazif Shahrani's REVOLUTIONS & REBELLIONS IN AFGHANISTAN: ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES is due at the end of September from the Inst. of Int'l Studies at the Univ. of California at Berkeley.

"Inside Moscow's Afghan War," an account of Pat Sethi's visit to Afghanistan appeared in the 6/11 NEWSWEEK along with an item called "A Non-War's Homefront." The 6/11 issue of TIME carried its CIA story, "Caravans on Moonless Nights."

AFGHANISTAN, a population policy compendium, is a joint publication of the Population Division of the UN Dept of Int'l Economic & Social Affairs & the UN Fund for Population Activities. This report says it refers to the Afghan situation as assessed in 1983, however, it only gives the 1980 population figure - 15,940,000.

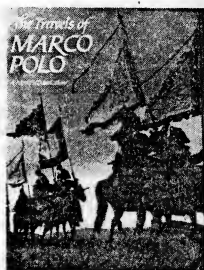
Articles by Valerio Pellizzari on his visit to Kabul appeared in IL MESSAGGERO (Rome) on June 24, 26 & 29 & on July 4.

Also from Italy: AFGHANISTAN, ESSERE POPOLO AI CONFINI DEGLI IMPERI, edited by Gianna Megevand, Milan, 1983. 267 pp. It contains records of the Stockholm & Paris Tribunals of 1981 & 82..

LA SINISTRA PER L'AFGHANISTAN edited by Federico Cohen, Venice, 1981. 164 pp. Contains records of a meeting held in Rome, Sept. 25, 26, 1980.

LA RESISTENZA AFGHANA, Rome, 1982, 310 pp., is the record of a meeting held in Florence March 26-28, 1982.

"Frontières et phénomènes migratoires en Asie centrale: le cas d l'Afghanistan de 1880 à nos jours" by Pierre Centlivres & Micheline Centlivres-Demont is in MIGRATIONS EN ASIE: MIGRANTS, PERSONNES DÉPLACÉES & REFUGIÉS, Berne, Société Suisse d'ethnologie, 1983.



THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO: A MODERN TRANSLATION, Teresa Waugh, trans; from the Italian by Maria Bellonci, NY:POF, 1984, 8x12", 218p, 44 color photos from the film Marco Polo, 1982. 50 b&w drawings, old maps, index. "A delightful, readable English translation of the classic written in 1298. Detailed descriptions of places, peoples, & customs encountered

in Persia, Tibet, China & India. Beautifully illustrated. Brings the colorful figure of Marco Polo marvelously to life."

G-87196-890-8. *19.95

An interview with Zalmay Khalilzad appeared in WOCHENPRESSE June 5 titled "Die Roten Todesschwadronen." A short article by Khalilzad also appeared in the 1/21 issue of KURIER. His article, "The Politics of Ethnicity in Southwest Asia: Political

"Development or Political Decay?" appeared in the Spring 1984 STRATEGIC STUDIES, the journal of the Inst. of Strategic Studies in Islamabad.

COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL SUR LE PROBLEME DES REFUGIES AFGHANS is a report of the conference held in Geneva Nov. 4-6, 1983 and is published by the Bureau Int'l Afghanistan (BIA) 24 rue de Chaligny, 75012 Paris. The Bureau also publishes the monthly LA LETTRE DU B.I.A., edited by Michel Verron.

AL-SOBH is published by the Solidaritätskreis für die Rechte des Moslemisch-Afghanischen Volkes e.V., Postfach 250547, 4630 Bochum, West Germany. The group is connected with Hezb-i-Islami Afghanistan Zweig Europa, Postfach 4425, D-6200 Wiesbaden, West Germany. A year's subscription is DM 15. (Order from the Wiesbaden address.)

AFGHANISTAN - NYTT is published by the Afghanistankomiteet i Norge, Postboks 1773-Vika, Oslo 1, Norway. Eva Hellenes is the editor.

AFGHANISTAN: ENDE OFFEN? is issued by the Bonner Afghanistan Komitee, c/o Boff, Reuterstrasse 187, 5300 Bonn 1, West Germany. Posters are available from Bonner Friedensforum at the same address. They also offer an offprint from DIE WELT, Jan. 84, which is devoted to articles on the Afghan war.



Another Bonn organization is Deutsche helfen Afghanistan (HELP), Kaiserplatz 3, 5300 Bonn 1, West Germany.

EINE INFORMATION ÜBER AFGHANISTAN is an information sheet published by Afghanisches Kultur- und Studienzentrum München, Ottingenstrasse 25, 8000 Munich 22, West Germany.

A more comprehensive survey of Afghan history & culture, AFGHANISTAN, Ein Volk kämpft um seine Freiheit, Das Land und seine Bevölkerung, Am Kreuzweg der Kulturen, is available from Aktion Afghanistan, Oberer Burghaldenweg 31, CH-4410 Liestal, Switzerland.

AZAD is the bulletin of the Afghanistan Committee in Holland. The annual subscription of this Dutch publication is f.22.50 for 6 issues. Order from Secretariaat Komitee, Afghanistan Vrij, Gravenstraat 8, 1012 NM Amsterdam. (020 - 237509)

THE JIHAD RAYS, the journal of the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen (Gulbuddin) is available from the I.U.A.M., G.P.O. Box #185 Peshawar at an annual subscription of \$12. (Acct. # 371, Allied Bank, Shaikhabad Branch, Peshawar.) [We are assuming that P.O. Box & bank account numbers stayed the same even though the groups' headquarters were moved out of Peshawar city proper.] The June-July issue has articles titled "The 'undeclared war'," "From Brezhnev to Chernenko" "Valor & Heroism," "Ramadhan or the month of patience & resistance," "The spring of blood," "How the Russians Work in Afghanistan," "New from the Fighting Fronts" and "Caravan of Martyrs."

JEHAD-E-AFGHAN is a digest of events & developments in Afghanistan edited by Moh'd Yaqub Sharafat and published every month by the Afghan Islamic Press Agency in Pashto, Dari & English. P.O. Box 520, Peshawar. [The AIP is supported by Khalis.] (See p. 2 for an article from this publication & p. 25 for subscription information.)

The Association of Afghan Resistance Writers, P.O. Box 228, Peshawar has issued 7 publications so far. They are "The Way of Afghan Jihad" in Pushtu (out of print); "Guerrilla Warfare" in Pushtu (Rs 5); "Message of a Martyr," poems by S.B. Majrooh (Rs. 10); "Prof. Khalili's Resistance Poetry" in Persian (Rs. 15); "Religion in the USSR" in Persian (Rs.5); "Homeland of Liberty" by S.B. Majrooh, in Persian with an English table of contents (Rs. 25) & "Persian & Pashto Poetry from the Resistance" (Rs. 15).

The 1983 ANNUAL REPORT of the Austrian Relief Committee for Afghan Refugees was issued in English & in German. In addition to Austrian support, the committee receives help from the FRG, Switzerland, England, Norway & Denmark.

ZAHIR SHAH AND THE STAND OF PARTIES by Betharaf appeared in the July issue of JEHAD-E-AFGHAN, A digest of events & developments in Afghanistan, edited by Moh'd Yaqub Sharafat and published monthly by the Afghan Islamic Press Agency, P.O. Box 520, Peshawar, in Pashto, Dari & English. We quote:

On July 17, 1975 the Gov't of the former King Zahir Shah was overthrown by his close relative Sardar Moh'd Dauod while he was away in Italy for a medical check-up of his eyes.

Sardar Dauod declared monarchy null & established a republican regime in Afghanistan. Soon after his disposal the former King, in a letter to Dauod, recognized the new Gov't... as a legal authority in Afghanistan. He, however, preferred to stay in Italy... Since then the name of Zahir Shah disappeared from the minds of Afghans. There was neither any organized party to work for the reinstatement of Zahir Shah, nor did he himself desire to remove Sardar Dauod & regain his lost crown.

But, soon after the April 1978 coup against the arrogant Dauod by Communists & the beginning of popular struggle against them, some old people began to believe that Zahir Shah's era was much better & peaceful. With large scale uprisings against the Communists in Afghanistan & the brutal crackdown against the people with tanks, guns & bombardment, the elders in Afghan society longed for the era of Zahir Shah. ... In spite of this, the majority of the Afghan population was still opposed to Zahir Shah: This situation continued until Dec. 27, 1979 when, as a consequence of the military invasion of Afghanistan by the Red Army, negotiations for a political solution of Afghanistan's crisis began. Rumors spread that if a political settlement is to be reached, the only person able of coming to power can be none other than Zahir Shah!

Zahir Shah, also, too often issued statements from Rome with regard to the current situation in Afghanistan. He consistently called for the unity of Mujahideen & deplored dis-unity among the ranks of Mujahideen. .. The major parties of Afghan resistance in Peshawar did not approve of the often repeated utterances of Zahir Shah. They held him responsible for all present day evils & misfortunes.

To date, Zahir Shah announced his United National Front a few months ago with a view to uniting the different parties of Afghans. His move was openly supported by 3 major parties of Mujahideen, namely Harakat-e-Inqilab-i-Islami (Muhammadi), National Front & National Front for Salvation of Afghanistan who have formed a 3-Party Alliance. It seems that the Chief of the National Front for Salvation of Afghanistan & leader of the 3-Party Alliance Prof. Mujadiddi is disappointed with the possibility of unity among all the groups of Mujahideen. He is, therefore, determined to strengthen the proposed United National Front. Mr. Mujadiddi strongly refutes the allegations that Zahir Shah is being sponsored by the Russians. He asserts that he will never accept anyone who is saddled by the Russians. He claims that Zahir Shah is an Afghan & a Muslim. He has every right to enter our ranks; this is his natural right. He says that a Grand National Assembly will be set up which will choose the future leader of Afghanistan.

Contrary to this, the views of...Maulvi Moh'd Yunus Khalis seem very much in contrast to those of Mujadiddi. Maulvi Khalis says that it is a wishful thinking to hope for any good from Zahir Shah. According to Mr. Khalis, Zahir Shah is the only hope left for the Russians. Another important leader of Afghan resistance, Eng. Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, holds Zahir Shah responsible for all the current pitiful conditions in Afghanistan. He believes that he can never be of any good for the people of Afghanistan. He demands his trial. Mr. Mujadiddi agrees that it was Zahir Shah, due to whose fatal mistakes the Communists were able to come to power in Afghanistan. However, he believes that the time for the trial has not come yet. Instead, all forces need to be united to free Afghanistan from the clutches of the Russians.

The leader of the Harakat-e-Inqilabi-i-Islami, Maulvi Moh'd Nabi Muhammadi, is also in favor of Zahir Shah. Mr. Mohammadi is of the opinion that the best way for the restoration of Afghanistan's independence is the return of Zahir Shah, Mr. Nabi was a member of the National Assembly during Zahir Shah's reign & knows him well. He openly supports Zahir Shah & his United National Front.

continued on p. 25.

BOOK REVIEWS

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN MUSLIM SOCIETY: ORDER AND CONFLICT IN PAKISTAN, Akbar S. Ahmed, Cambridge University Press, 1983.¹

Akbar S. Ahmed has contributed another volume to his rapidly-growing 5-meter shelf. The research oyster of Dr. Ahmed has been mainly in the Northwest Frontier Province and the Federally-Administered Tribal Agencies (FATAs) of Pakistan.

The FATAs are among the least studied, more romanticized parts of the world, a Kiplingesque-land where horse thieves become khans and bandits become freedom fighters. It is a prickly hedge where tribal warfare forms an integral part of the annual cycle. The seven FATAs, from north to south, are: Bajaur, Mohmand, Khyber, Kurram, Orakzai, North Waziristan and South Waziristan.

Today the FATAs play a major role in regional political patterns for they play key roles as the supply routes for the Afghan Mujahideen (freedom fighters) as the first Russo-Afghan War grinds on to its fifth year.

The book under review concerns the work of Dr. Ahmed as Political Agent, South Waziristan (largest of the FATAs) and his interactions with the local power elites. As a trained anthropologist and administrator, he served as a perfect participant-observer.

South Waziristan consists mainly of two major Pushtun tribes (Mahsud - the larger tribe - and the Ahmedzai Wazir), each of which sloughs over into adjoining PATAs or across the Durand Line of 1893 into Afghanistan.

Ahmed's book contains a good discussion of tribal geneology, which embraces subtribal and lineage elements. He is particularly interested in power and the functions of the maliks at each level of the kin-political units. Ahmed describes such power as fluid and fickle, influenced by traditions, charisma and the accidents of history. He discusses what had evolved into a "holy trinity of power"; the government, as represented by the political agent; the traditional malik; and the charismatic mullah.

Two themes are well developed in the book: 1) he gives us excellent general ethnographic pictures - the tribes, geography, cultural patterns, power struggles, operation of Pakistani government officials; 2) he gives rigorous life to each of the major actors, the tribal maliks, the mullahs (represented by Noor Mohammad), and the political agent (Akbar Ahmed).

Because generalizations are the opiate of professional papers and graduate seminars, we are most grateful that Dr. Ahmed has forcefully reminded us that individuals ultimately make up society, although they usually stay within the allowable bounds of cultural deviance. Dr. Ahmed has not completely escaped from the jargon he learned at the London School of Oriental & African Studies, but he has, book by book and article by article, moved to a clearer style much appreciated by those of us who value the Viceroy's English.

The plot moves almost like a movie scenario as the Mullah Noor Mohammad journeys from his religious base in the mosque to economic power in the bazaar. Combine these two interactions and voila, political power, which leads to the Mullah's confrontations with both traditional tribal leaders and the political agent.

To discuss the ending, as the movie reviewer writes, would be unfair.

Dr. Ahmed makes claims for modesty but he has nothing to be modest about. His book belies his claims and he and other Pakistani political agents have made great strides in the past decade or so in their attempts to make the blows of change fall the lightest on the most people.

¹ Abridged from a longer review sent to Central Asian Studies.

But what of the future? What about the role of the continued occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviets and the continuing First Russo-Afghan War?

Ah! But that must wait for the next reel.

Louis Dupree
Visiting Professor, US Military Academy
West Point

BIBLIOGRAPHIIA AFGHANISTA (HISTORIIA) (Bibliography of Afghanistan - History), Lili Kharmovna Baazova, Tiflis, Izdatel'stvo "Metsniereva," 1979.

The only booklength publication on Afghanistan to come from Georgia(SSR), this 610 item volume, in Georgian with Russian translations, covers all articles written in Georgian on Afghan history from the first such item in 1878 through 1975. The sponsoring institution, the Institute of Oriental Studies (called Tseriteli) of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, has only one other such volume in its background - one on Turkey published in 1971. Although the Bibliography on Turkey is understandable in view of the long political, economic and ethnic ties between what is present-day Turkey and Georgia, the connections with Afghanistan are less well known. However, ties exist and they are surveyed in the Bibliography's introduction.

Three Georgian kings fought in Afghanistan beginning in 1704 to defend Iranian conquests in the East. The Afghan hero Mir Wais led his fellow Pushtuns against a force of 2,000 Georgians under King Georgi XI who commanded a garrison in Kandahar. Georgi and his successor both lost their lives in the field of battle. Vakhtang VI is the last Georgian king to attempt to defend Qizilbash Iranian lands in Afghanistan. The exploits of Mir Wais and the heroism of the Afghans against the better armed and organized Georgians has served as the subject matter for nationalist Afghan literature in this century.

The Bibliography is organized in the following manner:

1. Lenin on Afghanistan
2. The Second Anglo-Afghan War (mainly news dispatches from London)
3. Russo-British interests in Central Asia
4. Life in Afghanistan during the Abdur Rahman period
5. Anglo-Afghan Agreement of 1893 - Pushtun tribes in conflict with British Raj.
6. Habibullah Khan
7. Strengthening of friendly relations of Afghans with Soviet regime
8. Politics of Amanullah Khan; British machinations in Central Asia
9. Establishment of friendly ties between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

As the author pointedly remarks, Georgians served a military purpose in Afghanistan only to further Iranian aims in the region. Since the October Revolution they have served Soviet interests, mainly on development projects. How they may be furthering Russian military interests at present is not discussed.

Eden Naby
Harvard University

5/14 - The Politburo met & discussed security in the industrial & agricultural enterprises, factories & government offices & approved regulations on self-defense groups.

- DRA security forces inflicted "a shattering blow to the counter-revolutionary elements in the Panjsher Valley." An officer told a Heywad correspondent that "only the leg of a soldier was injured as a result of a mine explosion... but the casualties of the miscreants were very high which resulted in their total annihilation." Others say the miscreants have been wiped out & that the people of the Panjsher are returning to their villages.

- The 5th anniversary of Akbar, a magazine published by the Novosti Press Agency, was celebrated. The magazine carries on "the great tasks in consolidating the fraternal ties between the people of the DRA & the USSR."

5/20 - "After wiping the valley of Panjsher & its surrounding areas from the terrorist band of Ahmed Shah & other counter-revolutionaries, the gov't. of the DRA prepared the ground for the revival of peaceful life in that valley, therefore, the returning of people to their homes...is gaining momentum."

- A protocol concerning the loading, unloading and delivery of export goods was signed by the DRA & the USSR.

- Bakhtar took lengthy issue with the visit of George Bush to Pakistan.

5/21 - The Council of Ministers approved the draft law on price control & income tax.

- Last year Bakhtar Airlines carried 80,100 passengers & 500 tons of goods on 2,760 flights. Bakhtar has 6 planes & makes weekly flights to 15 provinces.

5/23 - A Russian language department, named Pushkin, was opened in Kabul.

- Counter-revolutionaries surrendered in Faryab, Balkh, Kandahar, Badakhshan, Parwan, Kunduz, Jauzjan, Nangarhar & the Char-Asiyat district of Kabul Prov.

5/27 - The 65th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the DRA & the USSR was celebrated.

5/29 - 120 students graduated from the Russian language course.

6/2 - On Panjsher: "In the course of recent combat operations, the heroic & valcrous armed forces of the country have dealt deadly & heavy blows on the soldout band of Ahmad Shah mainly in Onaba, Tawakh, Rokha, Bazarak, Arstana, Barak, Boo Rab, Dashtak, Pishghor, Nata, Gonjo & Dashti Riut areas. In the valleys of Marash-tan, Hesajak, Gul Zafgar, Shofaie & Parefda the armed forces of the country have reached to the end of the heights of Shakh Safid, Konjal, Hazara, Pizgaran Abdullah Khail, & advanced to the last glaciers of Sad Barg & the heights of Shahri Gholgholasand in the southern valley to the east of Khimj & the end of the glaciers & followed the assorted groups of the enemies & annihilated them. Depots of ammunition & arms & the means of communication of enemies were either destroyed or seized."

6/3 - Star, a new children's weekly, began publication.

- The DRA & Bulgaria signed a cultural & scientific protocol for 1984-86. Bulgaria will provide 50 scholarships for higher education & the DRA will give 2 scholarships in Dari & Pushtu.

6/4 - "Profound wrath & indignation of the working people of Afghanistan is aroused by a terrible & criminal explosion of a bomb planted by the counter-revolutionary elements inside a city bus on 6/3. A number of passengers were killed & injured."

6/9 - Petroleum prices in the DRA are subsidized. The DRA loses afs. 4.31 on every liter of diesel fuel & afs. 4.80 on every liter of kerosene even though the Council of Ministers voted to raise the prices. (Petrol to afs. 20/liter; diesel to afs. 14/liter. Kerosene remains afs. 14/liter.) "Strict price control will be exercised & the prices of... wheat, flour, edible oil, sugar, tea, dry milk, soap, matches & clothes are held at their previous price levels at the state-run stores." The petroleum price changes were aimed at preventing "abuse of petroleum by smugglers & to restrain extravagant consumption of these products."

- The National Museum of Afghanistan is displaying over 85,000 historical relics in its 13 rooms.

6/10 - Delegations from Yemen & Poland arrived in Kabul.

6/12 - Poland & the DRA will establish consulates arrange scientific & technical exchanges and cooperation between their foreign ministries.

6/13 - Bakhtar reports that 40-50,000 Afghans are imprisoned in camps in Baluchistan; it also reports that over 1,000 members of Hezb-e-Islami surrendered in Baghlan.

6/16 - A jirgah of representatives of the Hazara nationality from Ghazni, Parwan, Wardak & Bamiyan Provinces took place in Kabul. Participants supported party & state policies.

- Diesel generators were set up in the Onaba & Rokha districts of the Panjsher. Each supplies 140kw of electricity.

- The DRA has set up 10 radio stations in different provinces & tv reception has been expanded in Kabul. Seven other provinces should have tv soon.

6/17 - The Export Development Bank of the DRA loaned afs.1300m to the export sector & afs. 690m to the import sector last year. It earned afs. 812m from export debts & afs. 120m from import debts.

- The recently formed Council of the Hindu Community has 64 members who also belong to the NFF.

- Electricity in Kabul: Cost - afs. 1,218m. Revenue - afs. 900m. A kwh costs afs.7 but consumers pay afs. 1.

6/19 - "Faram" (Conclusion) made by Afghan Film won an award at the Prague Int'l. Film Festival. The film was directed by Saed Warakzai.

6/20 - The Foreign Affairs Ministry denied Pakistan's charges of air space violations.

- At the start of Ramazan afs. 254,000 were distributed to Holy Quran reciters in 82 Kabul mosques. During Ramazan the DRA gave afs. 690,000 to mullahs, preachers & reciters.

6/28 - A contract for over \$1m worth of electrical equipment was signed by the DRA & Bulgaria. Twelve substations, each with a 4 megavolt capacity, for Kabul, Kandahar, Helmand & Nangarhar Provinces will be delivered in the next 14 months.

- "The limited military units of the USSR not only fulfill their internationalistic tasks in averting & rebuffing the foreign aggression against Afghanistan, but also use every opportunity to cooperate with needy compatriots of the country." Soviet soldiers "help peasants in collecting their yields, in treating ill compatriots & sometimes take part in

constructing & building of bridges & schools destroyed by counter-revolutionary elements."

6/30 - The Presidium of the DRA RC remitted the sentences of some male & female prisoners in honor of Eid-ul-Fitre. Babrak in his Eid address stated that Afghans from abroad would be welcomed home if "they would not disrupt the peace & order or be used as tools of the DRA's enemies."

7/2 - An earthquake of 5 on the Richter scale shook Kabul yesterday afternoon.

7/3 - Forests cover 3% of the total area of Afghanistan - 1,900,000 hectares.

- 195 peasants received land in Kunduz recently.

- Babrak told Newsweek that subversives have destroyed 1,800 schools, 10 mosques, 130 hospitals & killed 150 mullahs & thousands of citizens.

7/4 - New residents in the Kabul zoo include a "snow tiger, Marco Polo deer, snake deer & a brown bear."

- A 3-story residential apartment complex has been completed in Shiberghan. The 200 apartments have water, electricity, gas & radio.

- The population is returning to the Panjsher; in Rokha roads & bridges have been repaired and a school & a store have been set up.

- The Kabul Polytechnic, founded a decade ago with "disinterested" Soviet assistance, gave master's degrees to 211 graduates in chemical technology, chemistry, mining, petroleum & gas exploration, hydraulics & road construction.

- UNICEF will give the DRA \$4,400,000 for projects in 1984-85.

7/7 - A solar energy generator built by workers in the Gozargah textile mill in Kabul has enabled the workers to increase their ironing capability from 8,000 meters to 20,000 meters per day.

- The DRA long-term literacy plan calls for 95% of the population to be able to read & write by 1991.

- A week-long festival of Cuban films opened in Kabul.

- Over 7,000 doctors & other medical personnel will be trained in Afghanistan & abroad in the next 5 years.

7/9 - The Nangarhar olive farm produces 397 tons of olives - 136% over its target.

7/10 - The Faculty of Fine Arts, formerly a part of the Language & Literature Faculty, was inaugurated at Kabul U. The Faculty has 2 students in painting, 40 in sculpture, 40 in graphics, 0 in theater & 13 in music. Courses in miniature, calligraphy, eastern & local music will be offered in the future.

7/10 - The average domestic price/piece of karakul was raised from afs. 400 to afs. 600. Sales last year were \$10.6m.
 - A 2,911,100 ruble contract for machines & electric transmission lines for a sub-station in Kunduz was signed by the DRA & the USSR. Delivery will be within 2 years.

7/11 - Moh'd Salamullah who highjacked a PIA plane to Kabul in 1981 was executed in Kabul.



Killing and destruction: American crusade against Afghanistan. KNT 4/11

8/1 - A protocol on Party cooperation between the DRA & Laos for 1984-85 was signed in Moscow. DRA Amb. to Moscow Habib Mangal signed for Afghanistan.

- A display of captured Chinese-made weapons including dum-dum bullets was mounted in Kabul.

8/7 - A "bust dating back to the Buddhist period was recovered from 2 smugglers" & turned over to the Nat'l Museum.

- Abdul Qadir, DRA Defense Minister, presented money & awards to the winners of last year's work emulation drives.

8/8 - 24 journalists received certificates after taking a 3-month course on the "principles of progressive journalism."

- 1984 is the year of the campaign against TB.

8/9 - A contract for the gratis delivery of 1500 tons of medicine, 10 tractors, 10 heavy duty trucks and veterinary labs & equipment was signed by the DRA & the USSR. 25 employees of DRA cooperatives will go to Uzbekistan to see how cooperatives work there.

- Afs. 196m will be spent on Afghan Hajis this year.

8/9 - Large talc deposits have been discovered in Nangarhar Province.

- Babrak, at a Politburo meeting, called for stepped up security, implementation of land reforms and state power administration as well as improved health services.

8/11 - Over 70,000 tons of wheat were harvested this year in Nangarhar.

- The DRA complained to the FRG about the attack by "suspicious elements & counter-revolutionaries" on the DRA embassy in Bonn on 8/9. The DRA demanded that such incidents be prevented in the future.

8/12 - The Special Revolutionary Court sentenced Abdul Quduzkal & 14 of his cohorts to death, 21 others were given 5 to 20 years in prison, for counter-revolutionary acts.
 - Babrak met with "elders of the Achekzai & Noorzai nationalities" from Spin Boldak and listened to their problems.

8/13 - Over 200,000 Kabul inhabitants marched to protest the "piratic assault" on the DRA embassy in Bonn (see 8/11)

8/14 - Afghan wrestlers who participated in int'l matches in the USSR returned to Kabul with a silver medal.

- A delegation from the Japanese-Afghan Friendship Assn. arrived in Kabul.

8/15 - Addressing members of the Defense Ministry, Babrak said that the "combat performances of the army in 1363 H.S. (begun 3/21/84) show that the fighting capability, morale & the political consciousness of the military units has considerably increased as compared to previous years. The army of the DRA quantitatively is able to accomplish all its assigned duties for the extermination of counter-revolution." He called on the departments to raise the educational level of the army units.



KNT 4/1

8/15 - An independence monument was unveiled: "The monument is built exactly on the same place where 65 years ago the British imperialists finally confessed the victory of the liberation struggles of the people of Afghanistan, & signed the independence treaty with the newly liberated state of Afghanistan during King Amanullah's period (1919-1929). - A cooperative agreement between the PDPA of the DRA & the Workers' Party of Korea was signed in Pyongyang. Adina Sangin, incharge of the economic section of the Party, signed for Afghanistan.

8/16 - Moh'd Gildi, an Uzbek writer of the DRA, died of illness. He was a member of the executive committee of the NFF & the Poets & Writers Union & had written several Uzbek-language textbooks.

- In his Independence Day address, Babrak stated that the "limited Soviet military contingents will return to their country when the people of Afghanistan are fully confident that the intervention of imperialism & reaction & Iran are totally rooted out..." He also reported that gross agricultural production last year amounted to afs. 88.1 billion - an increase of 2% over last year & 7.1% over 1978.

8/29 - 51 people took the Kabul U. entrance exams for master's degrees in Dari, Pashto, history, food hygiene, microbiology & anatomy. The courses are 2½ years.
- The mosque of Hakim Nasser Khisraw in Badakhshan was repaired.

8/30 - "The national day of Pashtoons & Baluches was marked by gala functions throughout the DRA."
- The 140th birthday of Mawlana Omar Hassrat, a famous Tajik poet of Badakhshan, was celebrated in Faizabad.
- Since 3/20 Bakhtar Afghan Airlines has earned over afs. 407m. BAA has 6 planes & employs over 350 people. (see 5/21)



The Jihad (holy crusade) which the Afghan counter-revolutionary leaders believe in.

9/1 - Several people were killed & others wounded by yesterday's bomb blast at Kabul airport.
- Non-alignment day was noted in Kabul.

9/2 - Babrak visited the hospital where those wounded in the airport blast are recovering.
- The 4th anniversary of the Party daily, Haqiqat-e-Enqelab-e-Saur, edited by Sideeq Khan, was marked on Friday. Mir Sameb Karwal, Sec'y of the Party CC, read the Party's birthday message.

9/3 - Foreign Minister Bost returned from the Geneva talks where he participated "in a constructive & positive manner & showed reasonable flexibility."

9/4 - Bakhtar has accused the counter-revolutionaries of using chemical weapons since 1981, including potassium cyanide which was found on a captured bandit. "It is clear that potassium cyanide is not produced in Afghanistan."
- Reportedly over 100 families of the Mohmand tribes took advantage of the DRA amnesty decree & "joined the self-defense forces of the DRA."
- Over 554 bandits were wiped out in Wardak, Kabul, Takhar, Badghis, Nemroz, Parwan & Fariab.

9/9 - Counter-revolutionaries burned the Maulana Khasta Library in Balkh which contained 5,000 volumes including 213 volumes of the holy Koran.
- Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan returned to Kabul from Czechoslovakia. He was greeted at the airport by Anahita Ratebzad and Moh'd Aslam Watanjar among others.



Seeking legendary for plundering the wealth of peoples.

Some items from the KABUL NEW TIMES. KNT subscriptions are \$120/year & can be sent to the Circulation Dept. Microrayon Block #106, opposite the Gov't Printing Press, Kabul. (Acct. #6001 in Da Afghanistan Bank.) [Subscribers report that delivery is sporadic; however, the Library of Congress is compiling a microfilm file of past & current issues which it is getting from various sources.]



Goldsmithing is one of the traditional branches of our people's culture. Goldsmiths of our country are making precious and decorative articles from precious stones and metals which are rarely found in other parts of the world. In most of the cities, towns and streets of the country many goldsmithing is a heir of profession which is inherited by sons from their fathers. However, goldsmiths mostly train other apprentices. The photo shows Mohammad Zaman, one of the skillful goldsmiths, busy with his work.

4/19

According to press reports this year the Pentagon has allocated a record-high sum of 125 million dollars for subversive operations against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Great Britain came up with another 18 million pounds, West Germany ear-marked 60 million marks and Japan—four billion yen for the same purpose. Bands of counter-revolutionaries receive diverse weapons and different types of combat equipment, including artillery guns, rockets, anti-aircraft systems. During the stay at anti-Afghan centers in Pakistan counter-revolutionaries train in sabotage and terror techniques under the supervision of CIA instructors. 4/24

More US 'aid' to bandits

WASHINGTON, (BIA)—The American Central Intelligence agency annually allocates up to 75 million dollars for waging an undeclared war against Afghanistan, according to a leading American television company, the CBS. This money is used to supply weapons to the counter-revolutionary rabble trained in camps set up on Pakistani territory for raids inside Afghan territory. According to the TV network there are dozens of such camps, where American instructors help set up and train Afghan counter-revolutionary gangs. 4/23

MOSCOW, (BIA)—“Flower dance” is the name of a collection of Afghan music published in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, writes “MN information.”

This is the first collection of its kind in the old-age history of Afghan fo-

Historic relics saved

KABUL, (BIA).—

An exhibition of confiscated smuggled relics of national Museum of Afghanistan was inaugurated by Abdul Majid Sarbeland, Deputy-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRA in Kabul yesterday.

Prehistoric Buddhism and silver coins were put on display.

These relics belong to the epochs of Greek Bakhtiari, Kushanids, Sassanids and Khawarzm Shahian.

These historical relics include gold and silver coins, jewelries, statues, dishes, implements and historical signboards, being very valuable from historical priority point of view.

An official of National Museum of Afghanistan said: “The above ancient relics which were smuggled abroad by a number of plunderers of our country's culture and history were captured by the security forces of our country and the relics were delivered to the National Museum of Afghanistan. 4/24

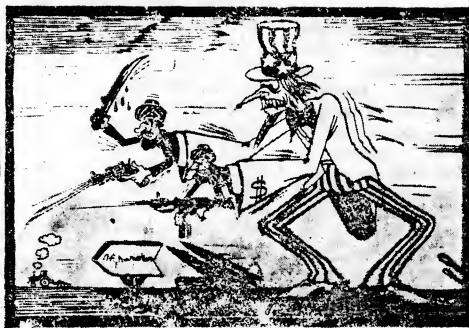
lk music. Its name comes from a melody by the Afghan composer, Ustad Muhammad Umar that is popular in the orient. The collection was compiled by Gulyamkadyr Ergashev, an Uzbek musicologist and an authority on oriental music. 3/24



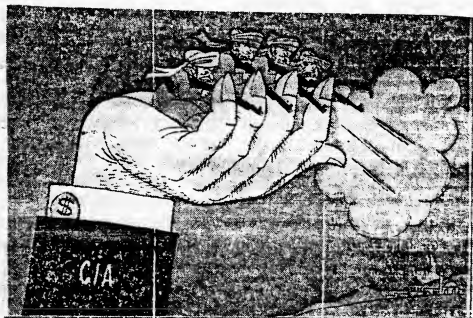
4/25



Murder of innocent people in exchange of dollar.
3/24



Imperialist hands off Afghanistan 4/24



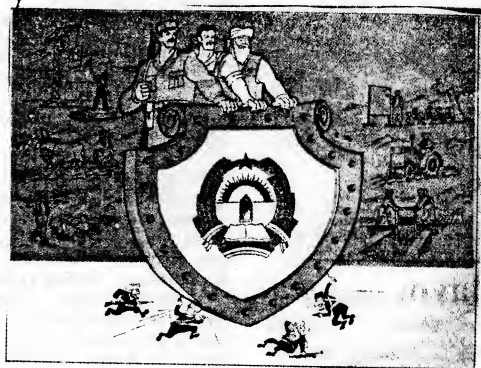
The ringleaders of Af ghon counterrevolution in the hands of CIA 4/15



The security forces of the country deal crushing blows to the counter-revolution exported from abroad.
4/22



The ringleader to his dog: Don't worry, the flesh for you, bones for "refugees".
4/19



SELF-EXPLANATORY 4/24

To implement the policy of the PDPA and the government of the DRA in the development and further growth of democracy in the life of people and further consolidation of democratic legality in accordance with the item No 9 of article No 29 of the Fundamental Principles of the DRA, and in order to create free and real democratic and appropriate conditions for referring to the State Information Services of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and for presenting complaints, appeals and proposals of the beloved compatriots, the State Information Services announced recently the following.

1. The reception office of the State Information Services of the DRA for people was opened on Sheer Ali Khan Watt road No 18, the western gate of Council of Ministers on March 21, 1984, and it started work.

2. The representatives of the State Information Services are always ready to receive and meet all respected compatriots whose proposals, appeals and complaints are related to State Information Services.

3. In official days, the office is open from 8 a.m. till 5:30 p.m. to public.

In case of occurrence of extraordinary events, they can refer to the office for solving their problems regardless the working hours of the office.

Radio Afghanistan, as the most basic means for education and publicity in the country which plays an effective role in enlightening the mentality of masses, by accurately realising the demands of the people and society and the revolutionary conditions of the homeland, accomplished its duties far better qualitatively and quantitatively in 1362 HS than in previous years based on the valuable directives of the party and state authorities, and took fruitful steps towards this end.

In order to improve its work, Radio Afghanistan had asked the views and proposals of scholars, writers, poets and thinkers at the beginning of 1362 HS and prepared its broadcasting programmes accordingly.

Similarly, with the increase of broadcasting period of several programmes, great many changes and transformations took place in the quality of all radio programmes.

Based on the need for increasing the publication of Radio Afghanistan, a plan for increasing the 1362 and 1363 publication was devised, and the following have been materialised in different programmes of Radio Afghanistan:

With the rehabilitation of radio studios and installation of new recording units and stereophonic and FM wave broadcast, stereophonic musical pieces (both foreign and local) and interesting subjects are presently broadcast by Radio Afghanistan.

— Due to the necessity and persistent demand of listeners, Radio Afghanistan added a morning broadcasting programme from 6.30 to 8 a.m. to its programme of 'Pashto and Baluchi' from August 23, 1983. And, beginning April 1, 1984, this programme has been extended for another one and a half hour and is being broadcasted from 6 to 9 a.m.

— In the year 1362, the plan for the start of broadcasting of Radio-Kabul was devised, and from March 20, 1984. Radio-Kabul started its activities with its daily three-hour broadcasting programme, and it continues its broadcasting programme from 6 to 7 a.m. and 6 to 8 p.m.

— A 30-minute broadcasting programme in the French language, from 12 to 12:30 mid-night, was started in the External Services of Radio-Afghanistan from August 23, 1983. And another half an hour was also added to the English programme of Radio Afghanistan beginning April 1, 1984.

— Two and a half hours were added from April 1, 1984 in the broadcasting programme of 'The Voice of Homeland' which had started its two-hour broadcasting from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. on August 27, 1982 with the aim to convey the voice of the homeland to the ears of deceived compatriots who are away from their homeland. Presently, this programme is being broadcasted for two hours during the day (from 11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.) and two and half hours during the night (from 7 to 9:30), i.e., it has four and a half hours broadcasting programme round the clock.

KABUL, (BIA).—

At the initiative of the Department for Organising Nomads affairs of the Ministry of Nationalities and Tribal Affairs a grand jirgah (assembly) was held with the participation of chiefs and representatives of various tribes of nomads including Tor Naseri, Arab nomads, Momand, Suleiman Khel, Ahmad Zai, Sultan Khel and a number of others at the ministry yesterday.

The jirgah was also attended by deputies, departmental heads as well as employees of the Ministry of Tribal and Nationalities Affairs, Muftahuddin Safi Deputy Nationalities and Tribal Affairs Minister addressed the participants and explained the policy of the party and our revolutionary state towards the nomads. The deputy minister also shed light on the plans and programs of the state for all-round improvement of the life of nomads.

Reciprocally, Malik Bunir Suleiman Khel and Malik Aka Khel Arab representing other participants of the jirgah talked and expressed their decisive support for the revolutionary state.

They pledged to our revolutionary state that they will preserve the security of their region along with the assistance of the government and will never allow the counter-revolution to destroy our roads and bridges or set the schools on fire and disrupt the tranquil life of our Muslim people.

At the end of the jirgah, the participants elected a permanent consultative jirgah, composed of their representatives.

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Items of interest for the FORUM:

CHRONOLOGY

5/20 - Economist - Valery Didenko is the 1st Soviet prisoner captured by the Afghan resistance to return to Moscow after his internment in Switzerland.

5/23 - NYT - Reports indicate that the Soviets are seeking to negotiate another truce in the Panjsher. Massoud reportedly declared a 5-day truce so the combatants could collect their dead.

5/24 - NYT - Jane's Defense Weekly reported that Soviet planes are dropping "liquid fire" bombs on Afghanistan as well as "fuel-air" explosives which detonate in mid-air releasing a chemical cloud which is detonated by a 2nd charge causing shock waves which kill anyone within a 1/4 mile radius.

5/25 - Bangkok Post - Abdul Majid Mangal, one of the architects of the Afghan military agreement with the USSR, has defected to Pakistan.

5/27 - NYT - British sources put Soviet losses in the Panjsher Valley at 500 - plus 2,000 more throughout the country - since the mid-April offensives started.

5/30 - CSM - Reportedly 3 Soviet generals have been killed in the past 2 months - one at Rokha, one in the Andarab Valley & one near Bazarak.

5/31 - CSM - Edward Girardet reports that Western sources say that as many as 3,000 Soviets may have been killed in the DRA in the past 6 weeks although mujahideen and civilian casualties have also been high. Massoud does not expect to reoccupy the Panjsher Valley soon but his "motoriks" (mobile guerrilla units) are harassing the Russians from the side valleys & have pushed the Soviets back to Bazarak. The situation for the civilian population is very bad as so much has been destroyed.

6/2 - PT - A report from Mashad says that over 1.8m Afghan refugees in Iran will receive special cards enabling them to benefit from welfare & health services. A 3-day seminar for Coordination Councils of Afghan Refugees was recently held in Iran. Quarantine stations have been set up in border areas for refugee medical exams & new refugee camps will be opened. (see p.24)

6/2 - PT - In Mecca, the Sec'y Gen'l of the Rabita al-Alam al-Islami urges Muslims to extend generous support to the mujahideen & to Afghan refugees.

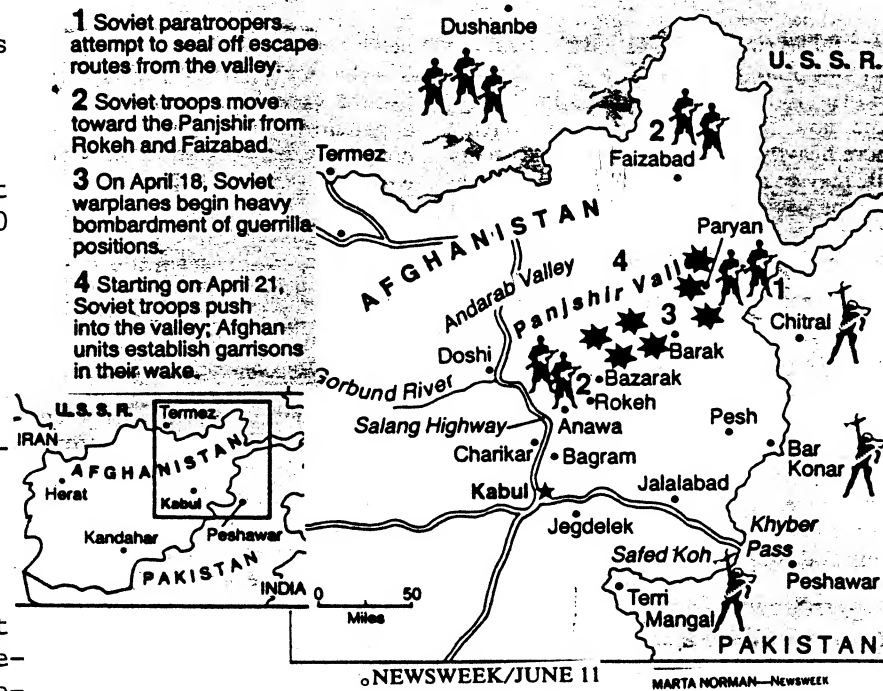
6/6 - NYT - About 500,000 Afghans are in danger of starvation according to a report issued by the British AfghanAid group (see p.23)

6/10 - NYT - Radio Free Europe & Radio Liberty are being strengthened by the Reagan administration. 3 correspondents have been sent to Afghanistan to interview Soviet defectors & a full-time office will soon open in Peshawar. (See 8/30)

6/11 - Time - CIA-supplied portable radio transmitters & land mines were instrumental in Massoud's defense of the Panjsher Valley. For an imaginative description of CIA operations see "Caravans on Moonless Nights" in the 6/11 Time, pp. 38-40.

- Newsweek carries a report by Pat Sethi, "Inside Moscow's Afghan War," on her 6-hour helicopter tour of the Panjsher. Excerpts from her interview with Babrak appear on p. 15.

The Soviet offensive, as described by sources in Kabul:



6/13 - NYT - Soviet forces launched a major offensive around Herat.

6/13 - Bangkok Post - Child spies:

London (Reuter) — Soviet forces in Afghanistan are abducting and indoctrinating children and returning them as spies to rebel strongholds, according to a Briton recently returned from the country.

Adam Holloway, 18, told the *Daily Express* newspaper he met one of the child spies, a 10-year-old boy named Naiem, in a rebel base near the Soviet-held town of Urgun.

The boy said he had been taken from his parents a year ago and flown with 200 other children to a Soviet town.

He was given a Soviet foster mother, lectured in Marxism, given firearms training and taught how to infiltrate rebel camps and direct Soviet bombers to their targets by lighting fires, according to Holloway's account.

When he was returned to Afghanistan, he was taken in as an orphan at a rebel base.

Holloway, who said he had spent a week inside Afghanistan "to do some-

thing different between school and university", said Mujahedeen rebel commanders had been debriefing the boy since discovering he was reporting to Russian intelligence in Kabul.

Mujahedeen guerrillas have been fighting Soviet forces since Moscow's intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979.

Holloway said the guerrillas believed Naiem was one of the first of hundreds of Afghan children being sent back from training in the Soviet Union as spies.

He said Naiem had demonstrated his skill with a captured Soviet Marakov 9mm automatic pistol and said he had been trained to use Soviet TT pistols.

Holloway said the boy spouted virulent anti-Western rhetoric, replying when the Briton thanked him for talking to him: "You are an imperialist mercenary of the USA. You can keep your thanks in your pocket."

6/14 - PT - The President's Fund for Afghan Refugees has given the Pakistan Gov't Rs. 760,809,793.70 as of 8/24/84.

- Last week the German Bundestag voted a declaration, sponsored by all parties, deploring Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

6/17 PT - The Herat offensive resulted in the death of over 1,000 civilians & the destruction of 1,500 homes. Jamiat-i-Islami's Rabbani stated that the Soviet attack began on 6/6 with 15,000 troops & 300 tanks plus air cover from the Shindand & Tashkent air bases. The siege was broken by 12,000 mujahideen under the command of Ishmael Khan.

6/18 - PT - Two DRA aircraft bombed a frontier post north of Landi Kotal killing 6. This was the 28th violation of Pakistan air space this year.

6/19 - PT - A former Vietnamese Army officer who defected in Bangkok last month told reporters that he was one of 208 Kampuchians sent by Vietnam to fight in Afghanistan.

- Western diplomatic sources stated "The spring offensive of Soviet-Karmal forces in the Panjsher Valley has failed to achieve its objective."

6/20 - NYT - Nine people, including a Soviet professor & a retired Afghan general were killed by guerrillas & at least 7 other Afghan officers reportedly died in shooting incidents in Kabul.

- Bangkok Post - "Tactical disputes among Afghan guerrillas broke out into gun battles that left several leaders killed or wounded, helping Soviet troops maintain control of the strategic Panjsher Valley" although elsewhere resistance activities increased...

"There was trouble among Masood's commanders in the valley in late May," according to one source. "The commanders disagreed on whether to attempt major counter attacks inside the

valley or to continue to mount operations outside Panjshir and to wait for new orders from Masood." "The quarrel according to this source reached the point of violence and there were casualties," the diplomat said.

Another source said up to 10 Afghan commanders may have been killed in the quarrel apparently won by those wanting to delay any counter attacks.

6/21 - FEER - Diego Cordovez will try a new format in the August talks in Geneva on Afghanistan. He will shuttle between the foreign ministers of Afghanistan & Pakistan who will be sitting in separate rooms. The talks will center on an "unspecified package of understandings."

6/27 - NYT - Reuters reports that Massoud is back directing operations in the Panjsher.

6/29 - NYT - Reagan, at a conference on US-Soviet Exchange, said that proposals to increase US-USSR exchanges "are not a signal that we have forgotten Afghanistan. We'll continue to demonstrate our sympathy & strong support for the Afghan people..."

- PT - The FRG has donated 60 tents, "designed for treatment of outdoor patients," which will be distributed in Peshawar, Islamabad & Quetta. Germany has also given money for the treatment of lepers.

7/2 - SCMP - Aid dispute settled:

Geneva, July 1.

Western and Soviet bloc delegates today resolved a bitter month-long wrangle that threatened to halt United Nations development aid to Afghanistan.

Because of Western objections, the governing council of the UN Development Programme failed to approve a US\$37.6 million (about HK\$293 million) technical co-operation plan to improve industry, agriculture, trade,

health, communications, education and other sectors in Afghanistan.

In a compromise move at its closing session, the council authorised UNDP administrator Mr Bradford Morse to

continue projects already under way and to consider requests for new development schemes.

The United States and other Western countries had refused to endorse the original plan submitted by the Afghan Government, saying it was confined mainly to the area of the capital Kabul and would not benefit people in other parts of Afghanistan, where Soviet troops are fighting anti-Government rebels.

The Soviet Union and three communist allies in the 48-member council accused the United States and other Western states of discriminating against Afghanistan for political reasons.

—Reuter.

7/4 - PT - Col. Rasul Sardeh, reportedly the 3rd man in Khad, was killed near his home in the Bagrami area of Kabul. DRA & Soviet officials continue to be targets of "hit-and-run killers around the capital." - Soviet UN Amb. Oleg Troyanovsky said that the UN-sponsored talks were making progress. "If you compare

The quarrel, which came while Masood was away from his forces, undercut guerrilla hopes for increased cooperation against the Soviet occupation of the valley, 80kms north of Kabul.

Since the dispute, no resistance attacks have been reported in the main valley with the only small-scale operations in side valleys. . . .

various fields in which the Sec'y Gen'l has been making efforts to bring about some solution, you will find that in the field of talks between Pakistan & Afghanistan there has been more progress than in other talks."

7/5 - PT - Afs. 7,000,000 & a cache of arms were seized in Islamabad on 7/3 from 3 Afghans heading for Peshawar in a jeep belonging to a "well-known organization of Afghan refugees."

7/6 - PT - Mrs. Gandhi in a WSJ interview said she "disapproves of the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan" but sees "little to be gained from repeated public condemnation of the Soviets."

7/9 - SCMP - Pravda reported that about 1,000 members of the Afghan Communist Party were killed last year.

7/10 - PT - Rustam Shah Mohmand, Commissioner of Afghan Refugees in the NWFP, inaugurated a 15-day training course for refugee teachers - the 1st of three to be given this summer in Abbottabad. There are 400 refugee schools in the NWFP with 71,766 students of which 5,000 are girls. Of the 1,840 teachers, 505 are Pakistani, the rest are Afghans.

7/11 - NYT - The gate of the US embassy in Kabul was hit by a rocket last week.

- PT - Babrak arrived in Moscow for a medical checkup. (The 7/26 FEER said that Babrak was rumored to have been wounded in a shootout between two cabinet ministers.) BBC reported that Defense Minister Abdul Qadir shot at Communications Minister Aslam Watanjar seriously wounding him.

7/12 - NYT - UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar arrived in Moscow for talks with Kremlin leaders on Afghanistan.

7/15 - PT - Soviet Premier Chernenko told de Cuellar that Moscow supports UN mediation over Afghanistan but that there would be no change in Soviet terms for a settlement.

7/16 - PT - Moh'd Eshaq, political advisor to Massoud, said in London that the Soviet offensive in the Panjsher had failed & that the Russians only controlled 25% of the Valley's 100 km while the resistance still controlled many of the side valleys.

7/17 - PT - German Rotarians donated Rs. 80,000 to Afghan refugees.

7/17 - PT - Tony Hyman writes from Peshawar that seriously wounded Soviet & Afghan soldiers are being flown out of Afghanistan not only to the USSR but also to Poland & East Germany. Hospitals in Dushanbe & Tashkent contain several thousand wounded and Ariana flies wounded to Prague at least once a week. Wounded Soviets are in separate wards in Kabul military hospitals and most of the doctors are now Russians because of the continuing drain of Afghan staff to Pakistan.

7/24 - SCMP - Police in Delhi arrested 3 Afghans & seized 2 kilos of heroin from them. The Afghans said they were smuggling to supplement their incomes.

7/25 - NYT - Soviet & DRA troops have mounted new offensives in the Logar & Shomali Valleys & in Herat.

7/26 - SCMP - An American, Dr. Robert Simon of Los Angeles, spoke to congressional aides in Washington about Soviet atrocities in Afghanistan:

Dr. Simon said he was the first American to go to Afghanistan to treat civilians and members of resistance forces.

His trip was sponsored by the Washington-based Committee for a Free Afghanistan, a private group.

Dr. Simon, who is trying to raise money to finance surgical teams for Afghanistan, said medical conditions in

the countryside were bad, with malaria and tuberculosis on the increase and malnutrition also a serious problem.

He said it would cost US\$40,000 (about HK\$312,000) to equip and set up one surgical team but he hoped to raise enough money to set up seven or eight teams.

7/27 - WSJ - The House Appropriations Committee approved a spending bill after secretly attaching \$50m for covert aid to Afghanistan.

The money was appropriated to an Air Force account, but is intended to be available to the Central Intelligence Agency as part of a classified operation in which the U.S. and at least one other nation are aiding insurgents who have been fighting the Soviet-controlled government, according to the sources. . . .

In contrast with the CIA's controversial involvement in Nicaragua, the Afghan rebels are a popular cause in Congress, and the House Intelligence Committee supported yesterday's decision to add the extra funds. Sources said the money is largely intended to offset losses incurred by the guerrillas during Soviet offensives this year, and while the sum involved doesn't represent a dramatic increase, there is pressure to improve the insurgents' arms. . . .

(see p. 23)

7/29 - PT - The EEC will give Pakistan \$10 lakhs worth of farm equipment, seed & fertilizer for Afghan refugees.

- China People's Daily - An earthquake measuring 5 on the Richter scale hit northern Afghanistan.

- A booby-trapped car exploded outside Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Peshawar headquarters killing 5 & wounding 2. Later an explosion in Sadda, 75 miles southwest of Peshawar killed 6 & wounded 29. The Khad was blamed.

7/31 - SCMP - Resistance leaders out of Peshawar:

Pakistani authorities have ordered all Afghan resistance leaders based in the Northwest Frontier capital of Peshawar to move out of the city by August 31, a senior refugee official said.

They have also begun evicting single Afghan males from houses and flats in the city, forcing them to move to nearby villages or refugee camps, Mr Rustam Shah Mohmand said last night.

Mr Rustam Shah, the Northwest Frontier province commissioner for Afghan refugees, said the city was becoming congested with refugees and its 550,000 Pakistani inhabitants were beginning to feel insecure.

"Every day, hundreds of refugees visit these offices," he said in Peshawar.

"They create traffic problems and people in the area have a feeling of uncertainty."

Mr Rustam Shah denied the orders to move had anything to do with a car bomb on Saturday outside one exile party headquarters which killed at least four people and injured 12 others.

He said the authorities had been trying to move the parties out of the city for some time but had been frus-

trated by a lack of suitable buildings for them in the countryside.

Growing congestion and mounting rivalry between the parties aggravated the situation to the point where, two months ago, the authorities decided to "reactivate" a plan to get them out, he said.

About a dozen resistance parties are based in Peshawar, the former winter residence of the Afghan kings.

Their two main coalitions both have large headquarters guarded by members with machineguns.

About 50,000 of the almost three million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan are believed to be in Peshawar.

The rest live in refugee camps along the border or in cities like Karachi and Islamabad.

Mr Rustam Shah said the city had already evicted about 400 single Afghan men and hoped to have all of them out in a month or two.

He did not know where the parties would go.

The commissioner said he thought rivalries between rebel groups were not behind the bomb blast on Saturday.

-Reuter.

8/6 - NYT - A Japanese embassy official returned to Tokyo yesterday after being captured by Afghan guerrillas. Koichi Umezawa, an attache in the Kabul embassy, was kidnapped 6/22 while he was sightseeing.

8/7 - PT - Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (see Vol. XI, No.3) went from Kabul to Prague for medical treatment. (see Kabul chron. 9/9)

8/8 - IHT - Soviet forces are pushing deeper into the Panjsher & have bombed Jabul-es-Seraj at the mouth of the Valley apparently to destroy crops & livestock. Bombing continues in the Shomali Valley & Logar.

8/9 - IHT - Two Soviet soldiers interned in Switzerland for 2 years were released and returned to Moscow. Five captured Russians remain interned in Switzerland.

8/10 - PT - Afghan refugees in the FRG occupied the DRA embassy in Bonn. German police arrested 13. (see 8/13)

- UN Press release - The Chairman of the UN Human Rights Commission appointed Felix Ermacora, an Austrian, as a special rapporteur to examine the human rights situation in Afghanistan & submit a comprehensive report to the Commission in 1985.

- Stars & Stripes - 7 seriously wounded Afghan guerrillas were flown to Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington for special treatment. Americare is footing the bill although the Defense Dept. granted a 1-time waiver of medical fees for humanitarian reasons. The Afghans may be at the hospital for 6-8 weeks.

8/11 - PT - BBC reported that Babrak told the Politburo that the mujahideen were destroying buildings, bombing factories, blowing up roads & causing great losses. The Karachi Business Recorder says Babrak has accused the US, China, Iran & Pakistan of forming an alliance against the Afghan revolution. Another item from the KBR:

PESHAWAR, Aug 10: An old Afghan woman was reported to have been apprehended by the Border Security Forces the other day while she was entering Pakistan from across the borders. She was carrying a bomb and according to preliminary report she was coming from Kabul.

She failed to reply interrogating authorities questions and therefore was taken into custody for further investigation. It may be recalled that with a few bomb blasts in Peshawar recently security and screening of the people has been tightened at the borders and within the city as well. Not-

withstanding the Afghan resistance leader's allegation of involvement of Russian intelligence 'KSB' and Afghan secret service 'Khad' in such incidents, a sense of insecurity among the general public here is very common.

It is also evident from the fact that the government has recently asked the Afghan resistance leaders to quit their city offices buildings and shift to suburban areas in their own interest to enable the administration help them in a better way.

The Afghan resistance leaders have themselves expressed satisfaction over this decision and as

already reported most of them agreed on selecting and taking pieces of land on lease basis to set up their villages and offices.

Gulbadin Hikmatyar currently heading the seven party alliance of the Afghan Muahideen has revealed in an interview that the

Mujahideen have already apprehended a member of the group entrusted with the task of exploding the offices of Mujahideen by the Russian-Afghan services and they were hunting rest of the group and would expose them at an appropriate time. -

8/13 - SCMP - The Afghan Foreign Ministry has protested to West Germany against the storming of its embassy in Bonn (see 8/10). The attackers reportedly injured embassy staff & took documents.

- 80 DRA soldiers defected to the Jamiat-i-Islami group of Rabbani.

- Radio Kabul reported that 15 people were sentenced to death & 21 jailed for anti-government activities.

- Karachi Business Recorder - Italy donated 10 Fiat ambulances for use in refugee TB control programs.

8/14 - SCMP - 3 DRA aircraft violated Pakistan's air space bombing Kum Alizar south west of Parachinar, killing 1 & injuring 5.

- Khyber Mail - A mobile radio service, to be known as "The Voice of Free Afghanistan," will begin operation shortly. The station will be set up by the Society for Human Rights, Dignity & Freedom founded by German Erick Kothny & Afghan Aziz Najib. Kothny also plans to set up an information & public relations office & launch a fund raising campaign.

8/15 - a recap from the SCMP:

Soviet and Afghan troops have consolidated their positions in the strategic Panjshir Valley and are now concentrating on the region south of Kabul. Western diplomats said in Islamabad today.

They said Soviet and Afghan Government troops had suffered more than 200 casualties in Paktia province south of the capital in the past two weeks, an indication that the theatre of anti-insurgency operations had shifted south.

However, diplomats said Soviet and Afghan troops had suffered more than 150 casualties in mopping up operations in areas north of Kabul.

They said an offensive mounted in the middle of last month against the Shomali region north of Kabul had apparently been called off, noting that aircraft movements north from Kabul had dropped off since late last week.

A major Soviet offensive in April to crush the Muslim resistance in the Panjshir Valley, in its traditional stronghold, prompted a massive rebel retreat to neighbouring valleys.

Diplomats said the rebels, led by Mr Ahmed Shah Massood, have carried out sporadic raids against Soviet positions in the valley but have been unable to recapture their former bases.

According to diplomats, Mr Massood and his forces have been unable to regroup to pose a significant challenge to Soviet troops in the valley.

Closer to the border with Pakistan, an Afghan Government garrison at Ali Khel remained under siege by resistance fighters, the diplomats said.

The garrison was reportedly running low on food, fuel and ammunition and troop morale was flagging after two months of siege.

In Kabul, the Mujahideen launched a series of attacks against the outer perimeter of the airport last week.

Brief but intense fighting was reported near the airport and tanks, artillery and heavy machinegun fire were heard.

Rebels fired three rockets at the airport but there were no reports of damage.

Diplomats also said Kabul's Shehre-nau district, an enclave for diplomats, had

8/16 - PT - Afghan planes bombed Teri Mangal near Parachinar killing 13 and wounding 5.

8/17 - PT - Pakistan's stand on Resistance Groups:

ISLAMABAD, Aug. 16: Pakistan Government does not treat headquarters of Afghan "Tanzimaat" (organisations) in Peshawar as headquarters of the Afghan resistance movements, a Foreign Office spokesman said here today.

Asked to comment on foreign media reports describing the "tanzimaat" as resistance movements, the spokesman said that the Government regarded these "tanzimaat" as organisations of the refugees whose status was governed by the international instruments on this subject.

The relevant international instruments, he pointed out, defined a refugee "as being an individual who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted is outside the country of nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country".

He made it clear that Pakistan had given shelter only to the refugees who had fled their homes because of the occupation of their country by foreign troops.

LAWS AND REGULATIONS

Describing the resistance in Afghanistan as entirely indigenous the spokesman said, "We will not allow, as we have repeatedly stated, Pakistan territory to be used for this purpose".

According to him the international refugee law states that every refugee has duties to the country in which he finds himself, which require in particular that he conform to its laws and regulations as well as to measures taken for the

maintenance of public order.

Asked as to what had prompted the Government in the Frontier province to ask the Afghan organisations to shift their offices out of Peshawar, the spokesman explained that this decision had been made many months ago because the headquarters of the "tanzimaat" were situated in the crowded part of the city and in keeping with Afghan tradition, a large number of refugees visit these offices daily to explain their problems and to seek the assistance of their leaders in resolving them.

This, he said, obviously had created a degree of concern to the local residents whose normal life pattern was disrupted by this constant and unusual heavy traffic. A similar concern for the maintenance of the normal pattern of life in Peshawar led to the associated decision to ask bachelor Afghan refugees, who had secured accommodation in Peshawar to move outside the city limits.

TRADITIONS

It was inconsistent with the social mores and traditions of Pakistan society generally and of the Frontier province in particular that bachelors should maintain independent residences in respectable family neighbourhoods, he said adding that this restriction did not of course apply to Afghan refugees with families who can continue to reside in Peshawar.

The spokesman added that the Government had promised to provide full facilities to the "tanzimaat" and the Afghan bachelors to acquire temporary residences outside Peshawar city limits. Continuing, he said: "We recognise that the refugees residents in camps occasionally wish to have contacts with their leaders. We do not believe that shifting the headquarters of the "tanzimaat" to outside the Peshawar city limits will create any additional difficulties for the refugees".

He brushed aside as incorrect a suggestion that the move was prompted by the recent bomb blast. The decision was made many months before this but its implementation had been held over until after the end of holy month of Ramazan, he said.—APP.

been the scene of nightly fighting during the past 10 days.

At least nine people were killed by exploding rockets and mortar shells.

Three Afghan officers were reported captured and killed by rebels on July 29 in the Kote-sangi district of Kabul.

Three Army jeeps were caught in rebel rocket fire near Plue-charkhi on Friday and all occupants were killed, the diplomats said.

8/17 - Khyber Mail - Pakistan expects to receive \$2m from int'l sources for Afghan refugees. The Chief Commissioner for Refugees said costs would be \$414m and that refugees were coming to Pakistan at the rate of 6-7,000/month.

8/18 - The Muslim - Conversation at a recent diplomatic reception in Islamabad:

In another corner, Sharif Faulad, the Afghan Charge d'Affaires was pursued by the journalists. He was coming from the Foreign Office where we protested over the recent intrusions.

"I have told them that whenever some American is coming or Geneva talks are imminent, you accuse us of violations. I wonder why you don't fire at our planes if they remain in your territory for such a long time. You are publishing stories that the Mujahideen are downing MIGs inside Afghanistan. Why can't this be done here", he repeated to everyone.

He was told about the apprehensions emerging from Karmel's long stay in Moscow. "Maybe your country wants to get out of Geneva", we said.

"Getting out of Geneva is not in our interest. We want to resolve the issue through negotiations. Differences

on the issue are basically disadvantageous for us", he claimed.

Possibilities of establishing an Afghan government-in-exile were probed by everyone present. One had to express reservations regarding establishment of such a government. "Pakistan, we believe would not approve the establishment of such a government. We know that it is not in our national interest and we are not playing anyone's proxy in this issue", a Pakistani journalist observed.

"Yes Your government must consider the consequences. If such a government is established, and with the initiative of Saudi Arabia, then you have to recognise it. That means that our friend, Sharif Faulad (the Afghan Charge d'Affaires) has to go, making it difficult for us (East European countries) to remain here", a diplomat said.

8/18 - The Muslim - Babrak claimed in a 130-minute radio speech that there were 170 camps in Pakistan, China & Iran training "bandits" against the Afghan revolution.

- In an editorial, The Muslim pointed out that DRA violations of Pakistan's air space seem to increase before Geneva talks are scheduled & when important visitors come to Pakistan. It mentioned that the Kremlin also cancelled Foreign Minister Niaz Naik's scheduled visit to Moscow.

8/19 - PT - The DRA reportedly is reinforcing its troops on the Pakistan-Afghan border near Chaman & the bulk of the reinforcements are Russians. Abnormal troop movement on the Kandahar-Chaman highway is delaying transit goods - it now takes over 10 days to clear the Spin Boldak post. Vehicles are often unloaded & often the cargo is impounded for troop use.

8/20 - PT - A Soviet offensive on Hamberkhana, 50 km east of Jalalabad, resulted in the death of 130 civilians & 300 cows. - 16 persons were killed when DRA forces shelled the Teri Mangal outpost yesterday.

8/21 - PT - Another 12 refugees & 4 Pakistanis were killed in new shelling at Teri Mangal.

8/22 - PT - 3 more Afghans were killed at Teri Mangal.

8/22 - PT - Diego Cordovez left for Geneva last night to resume indirect negotiations.

8/23 - NYT - Pakistan accused the DRA of killing 104 people so far this year in air raids & shelling across the border. Pakistan has lodged protests with the DRA and the UN. DRA Foreign Minister Dost in Geneva denied the charges.

- PT - The Republican Party convention reaffirmed by voice vote support for the Afghan freedom movement.

8/24 - PT - The Organization of the Islamic Conference expressed concern over DRA violations of Pakistan's air space.

8/28 - NYT - Reuters reported that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar of Hezb-i-Islami & Burhanuddin Rabbani of Jamiat-i-Islami held a press conference in Peshawar to bury the hatchet. Independent Afghan sources said they were surprised and skeptical but thought that maybe the force of the recent Soviet offensives had driven the two parties toward closer cooperation.

8/29 - NYT - About 50 Soviet helicopters reportedly left Kabul for a new drive near the Pakistan border in southeastern Afghanistan. The Soviets are reportedly burning wheat fields south of Kabul now that the harvest is beginning.

8/30 - PT - Ghulam Hassan Khan Karokhel, formerly responsible for the security in the eastern part of Kabul city, defected to the Nat'l Islamic Front (Gailani) & arrived in Peshawar yesterday with a number of his followers.

- NYT - Radio Liberty & Radio Free Europe. Cast: George Bailey, American, head of Radio Liberty; James Edwards, British, News Director; James Buckley, former US senator, President:

One recent staffing dispute involved Mr. Bailey's wish to dispatch a Russian exile with no journalistic experience to work in a newly opened Pakistan bureau, which is supposed to monitor the war in Afghanistan. One of the post's main assignments is to interview Soviet defectors and prisoners on the Afghan frontier with Pakistan.

Mr. Edwards, the news director, opposed the selection, and it was finally vetoed by Mr. Buckley, who said that he feared the Russian might become entrapped in an effort by Soviet intelligence to stage an escape by one of the captured Soviet soldiers.

The station recruited an American reporter for the post, but after sensing that the assignment might involve more than just journalism, he turned it down and was sent to London.

Finally, Aaron Einfrank, a desk editor, was sent to Pakistan over the protests of Mr. Edwards, who considered

him unqualified. In an unusual arrangement, Mr. Einfrank reports directly to Mr. Buckley's office and "coordinates" the stations' activities in the region.

Mr. Bailey insisted that nothing improper was involved. "As you know, there is some kind of underground railway going on," he said, speaking of efforts to bring Soviet soldiers out of Afghanistan. "But I can assure you that we have nothing to do with it."

8/31 - PT - The US State Dept. said yesterday that the Soviets appear to be trying to open the road to Ghazni & relieve Afghan units under siege by the resistance. It reported that between 12 - 14,000 Soviet soldiers have been massed in eastern Afghanistan.

- NYT - Afghan rebel groups began leaving Peshawar (see 9/4).

- PT - Nepal called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

- The next Geneva talks will probably be held in February. Until then the 2 sides will "examine instruments & texts handed them by Diego Cordovez... in light of the week-long discussions just held." Cordovez did not disclose the nature of the papers but said that "an action on these papers would take the process into a more substantive phase toward settlement."

- Many people were killed by a bomb blast at Kabul airport. (see 9/2)

9/1 - PT - The Republic of Korea gave 20 jeeps & 10 "saloon cars" for Afghan refugees. In the past year the ROK has also given 21 trucks & 20 ambulances.

9/2 - PT - The UN Sub-commission on Human Rights expressed grave concern over the recent killings of civilians in Pakistan by the DRA.

- NYT - The Kabul airport blast (see 8/31) killed 30 & injured over 100. Most of the injured were passengers on the Ariana flight to Tashkent but there were also people waiting for 2 flights bringing children back from the USSR.

9/3 - PT - The British Sunday Telegraph reported that the USSR has sent up to 70,000 men into Afghanistan this year & will send in more for a new onslaught. The newspaper says Soviet strength is far above the 115 - 120,000 quoted by Western diplomats.

- NYT - Babrak blamed Pakistan for the airport bombing.

9/4 - PT - The Hotel Metropol, the Sham Hotel & the Ariana Cinema were bombed by guerrillas. The dead count in the airport blast has risen to 42.

- Resistance groups have moved out of Peshawar. They have set up temporary offices in rented buildings or in newly acquired empty land on the highways from Peshawar to Kohat, Pabbi, Charsadda & Jamrud where they will construct mud offices & residences & concrete schools, mosques & hospitals. "The shifting of bachelor Afghan refugees is in full swing & so far about 1,500 have been shifted to RTVs around Peshawar." Bachelor moving, however, is slow because landlords are not cooperating fully. "These bachelors are putting up in very big numbers in the same house thus constituting a threat for the local people."

- Refugee officials report that from 3-500 people cross the border daily - mostly old men, women & children.

- At least 100 Soviet troops were reported killed in a guerrilla ambush at the Salang Pass last week. It was also reported that 170 Soviet troops were slain on 8/23 when gunships, attempting to halt a guerrilla attack near Kati-Sanghi, mistakenly bombed their own soldiers.

9/9 NYT - Afghan radio said over 100 guerrillas were killed in fighting in 12 provinces. Heavy fighting continues throughout the country.

9/12 - NYT - Guerrillas reportedly have regained command of the Panjsher Valley from Khenj to the Anjuman Pass.

9/13 - NYT -

Clyde
Taylor
is Acting
Ass't
Sec'y of
State for
Int'l
Narcotics
Matters.

The poppy-producing region known as the Golden Crescent stretches from Iran through Afghanistan into Pakistan. About half the heroin smuggled into the United States and most of the heroin consumed in the Northeast originates there.

In 1979, Pakistan produced twice as much opium poppy as Afghanistan and Iran combined. But today, State Department estimates show, the situation has reversed. Afghanistan and Iran combined produce 20 times as much opium as Pakistan.

Part of the explanation is drought and part of it is enforcement. But the end result has been that many Pakistani drug traffickers have simply slipped across the border into Afghanistan, and for the past several years the Golden Crescent's total production has steadily increased.

Because of that, Mr. Taylor said, "some people say, 'Laugh on you; what have you actually accomplished?' Well, we have developed an attitude in Pakistan that wasn't there before. And for opium, we have created at least one zone sanitaire."

"Now," he added, "we can hope for a day when there is stability in Afghanistan again, and we can address that problem too."

AFGHANISTAN FORUM



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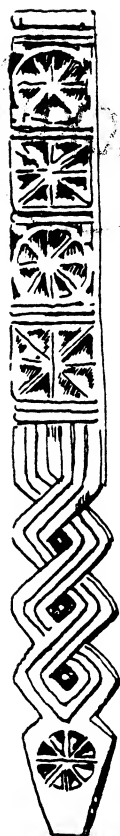
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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AWSJ - Asian Wall Street Journal
AICMB - Afghan Information Center Monthly Bulletin
CSM - Christian Science Monitor
FEER - Far Eastern Economic Review
KNT - Kabul New Times
NYT - New York Times
SCMP - South China Morning Post
WSJ - Wall Street Journal
PT - Pakistan Times
IHT - International Herald Tribune

PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
CC - Central Committee
NFF - National Fatherland Front
DYOA - Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
DRA - Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
WDOA - Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
(sometimes DWOA)
NWFP - Northwest Frontier Province
RTV - Refugee Tent Village
FRG - Federal Republic of Germany

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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